

America

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OCTOBER 5, 1946

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK



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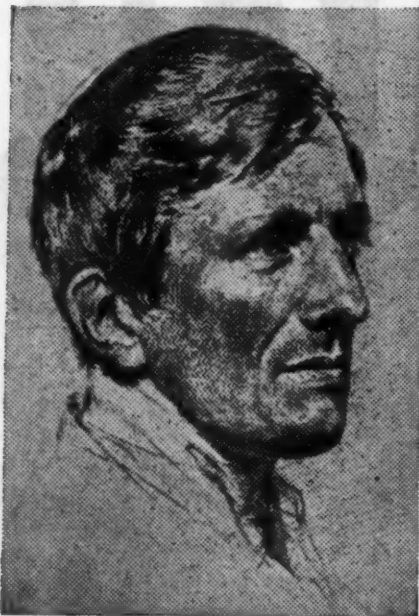
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Ref.

This is where I came in At no time could the late Adolph Hitler coo you more melliflously, like the dove of peace, than just before or just after one of his aggressions. The Munich settlement satisfied his "last territorial demand in Europe." Even as he was assuring Belgium, in May, 1940, that the idea of invasion was far from his mind, the Luftwaffe was warming up its engines for the bombing of Brussels. Somehow, people believed him, although his intentions were writ large in *Mein Kampf* for all who cared to read them. These reflections are inspired by Stalin's replies to the correspondent of the London *Sunday Times* on September 24. A new war? Stalin does not believe in it: "The noise is being raised about a 'new war' mainly by military-political scouts. . . ." But last May Day he warned the Russian people: "We should not forget for a single minute the intrigues of international reaction, which is hatching plans of a new war." Does he believe in the

friendly and lasting collaboration of the Soviet Union and western democracy, despite the existence of ideological discord, and in friendly competition between the two systems of which Wallace spoke in his speech?

He does, "unconditionally," at least as of September 24. That, however, was not his mind as of last February 9. Then, he declared flatly:

It would be incorrect to think that the war arose accidentally or as a result of the fault of some of the statesmen. Although these faults did exist, the war arose in reality as the inevitable result of the development of the world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism.

Stalin, like Hitler, is willing to talk peace so long as such talk confuses the opposition and gets him his way. But there is a surer test of peace-loving intent: adherence to the pledged word and to the principles of the UN Charter. That is a test Mr. Stalin has yet to pass.

Churchill at Zurich The oft-proposed and long debated idea of a United States of Europe received new impetus from Winston Churchill's ringing address on September 19 before the University of Zurich. As "sovereign remedy" for the present chaos, Mr. Churchill summoned the nations to "re-create the European family, or as much of it as we can, and to provide for it a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom." As first step towards such a structure Mr. Churchill called for a partnership between France and Germany; and a federated Germany, in his opinion might be a part of the plan. "There is no reason," he took care to note, "why a regional organization of Europe should in any way conflict with the world organization of the United Nations"; indeed, "our constant aim must be to build and fortify the strength of the United Nations organization." Mr. Churchill called

for a mighty "act of faith" in the possibility of a united Europe. That act of faith, which seemed hopeless a few months ago, is today rendered possible by rapid growth of the Christian Democratic idea as a unifying factor in European politics; the emergence of the Christian conscience, and the crushing majorities with which the European peoples have one by one registered their fear and abhorrence of communism's advance. What concrete form such a re-created unity of Europe might take is a matter for political scientists to discuss. But none can dispute Mr. Churchill's fundamental idea, that the time has come for the people of Europe, led by France and Germany working together, to assemble and combine as best they may.

Deflated Wages Beneath the current labor unrest, which exploded recently into strikes in the maritime and trucking industries and which seems certain to set off a new wave of wage demands this winter, lies the very human problem of making family income keep pace with outgo. Snap judgments about the selfishness of organized labor fail to take into account the economic squeeze, resulting from sharp increases in prices, in which workers find themselves today. That the workers really need the extra money they are demanding was convincingly shown by figures released last month by the conservative National Industrial Conference Board. According to this subsidiary of the National Association of Manufacturers, "real" weekly earnings in manufacturing industries—where wages are higher than in service industries—dropped 4.8 per cent during July. Over a twelve-month period they have declined 9.3 per cent. And the cheapening of the dollar is only one factor threatening the living standards of workers. Others are the terrific impact on the weekly pay envelope of downgrading and loss of overtime. What these amount to can be appreciated only if one realizes that, whereas hourly earnings in July were 7.9 per cent above the 1945 level, weekly earnings fell 2.9 per cent below it. Before losing patience with labor's wage demands, ask yourself whether you can make ends meet these days on \$47.58 per week—before taxes.

Rumblings in the CIO The day after columnist Edwin Lahey of the Chicago *Daily News*, close friend of Philip Murray, broke the story that the CIO President was considering resigning at the national convention in November, the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers assembled in Cleveland for its forty-second convention. The timing of the story about Mr. Murray's plans had no reference to the Cleveland convention, but what went on at Cleveland should not be lightly dissociated from the indecision of the CIO leader to seek re-election. There an insurgent right-wing group failed by the narrow margin of less than forty votes in

an earnest effort to bar Communists, along with Fascists and Nazis, from holding office in the union. Although Reid Robinson, pro-communist president of the IUMMS, managed to retain control of the convention, he risked losing his job to a right-wing slate in the referendum scheduled for November 1. The fight in Mine, Mill and Smelter, long a Red Fascist stronghold, followed a week later by President John Green's denunciation of communist conniving at the Marine Workers' convention, provided further evidence that this issue was headed for a showdown at the national CIO convention. For many months Mr. Murray's sense of organizational loyalty, which seemed to indicate the necessity of peace within the CIO, has been in conflict with his admitted opposition to communism. Observers wondered whether this inner conflict, in addition to questions of health and overwork, may not have moved the CIO chief to consider stepping down. Whatever the truth of this speculation, and of others, it was certain that the next six or eight weeks would be as critical for the CIO as was the period during the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Polish-German Frontiers Flaunted principles have the embarrassing habit of rising to plague the flauter. In all the tortuous struggles for peace, nothing will be a harder nut to crack than the question of the German-Polish boundaries. Yet upon its cracking depend to no small extent the peace of Europe and American honor. It will be tremendously hard because we are trying now to redeem principles we treated too off-handedly at Yalta and Potsdam. There we were brought to accede to a Russian-Polish land grab which vitiated the Atlantic Charter's statements barring territorial aggrandizement and the subjection of peoples to governments not of their choosing. To reimburse Poland for her lands yielded to Russia, we allowed Poland to occupy parts of eastern Germany containing some nine million Germans and producing food for some 17 millions—a quarter of the whole population. We yielded to the transfer of that German population into a shrunken Germany. We did not, it is true, completely capitulate on principle; we wrote into various agreements the statement that Germany's final eastern boundaries would be fixed only at the peace settlement; we expressed the wish that all population transfers be accomplished in an orderly fashion. But in yielding as far as we did, we winked at bringing about a situation which makes a self-sufficient Germany almost an impossibility, which compromises our integrity and

which, frankly, seems for the time being to be insoluble.

Lange-Molotov Barefacedness In admitting, however, that our initial weakness has brought about the impasse, we must stand firm to protest the statements that Mr. Byrnes' Stuttgart speech has brought forth from Soviet V. M. Molotov and Polish Oscar Lange. Both have claimed that there is no possibility of reopening the question of Poland's western frontiers and that the Big Four so decided. The record is as follows: On June 5, 1945, in the Allied Statement of the Occupation of Germany, the four Powers declared: "the assumption . . . of the said authority and powers, does not effect the annexation of Germany. . . the four powers will hereafter determine the boundaries of Germany or any part thereof." The Yalta Conference of February, 1945 stated:

The three heads of government consider that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government . . . should be sought . . . on the extent of these concessions [the eastern, or Curzon, line] and that the final delimitation of the western frontiers of Poland should await the peace conference.

The Potsdam Conference stated:

The Conference examined a proposal by the Soviet Government that, pending the final determination of the territorial question at the peace settlement [the Koenigsberg area should be under Russian control] . . . the Conference has agreed in principle to the ultimate transfer of this area subject to expert examination of the actual frontier . . . the three heads of government [after hearing members of the Polish Provisional Government, as provided above] reaffirm their opinion that the final delimitation of the western frontiers of Poland should await the peace settlement . . . the three heads agree that, pending the final determination of Poland's western frontier [the Oder-Niesse area and part of East Prussia] should be under the administration of the Polish state.

In face of these repeated and solemn statements, Molotov and Lange dare to say that the mere facts of temporary administration and population transfer have closed the question. If we yield before such brutal and bare-faced cynicism, we will be justly tarred with the same brush.

Soviet Esthetes Under Fire Simultaneously with eulogies of the Russian Government for its courageous "measures against criminal violations of collective farm regulations," the Moscow radio continues to blast Soviet writers, poets, critics and movie-makers. Only recently, however, has the Moscow radio received authorization from the Politburo to release the text of the new Soviet literary credo announced by General Zhdanov last August:

If feudalism and, later on, the bourgeoisie in the periods of their flourishing, could create art and literature asserting the new systems and praising the growth of these systems, then surely our new socialist system, embodying all the best in the history of human civilization and culture, is capable of creating the most advanced literature, which will leave far behind the best creations of olden times.

The speaker then admonished Soviet writers, "purged" of all evil spirits of Western literature, to "shun bour-

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geois culture, with its addiction to gangsters, girls and adultery." Curiously enough, the magazine *Culture and Life* severely censures such hitherto unassailably orthodox papers as *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and *Trud* for their "timid attitude toward Soviet plays," and for their failure to employ the "principles of Bolshevik criticism." Only a few days ago *Izvestia's* editorial column reminded Soviet writers that their task is to "give a crushing repulse to slanderers attacking Soviet culture and socialism, and at the same time to castigate the corrupted and corruptive culture of bourgeois society. . . ." Konstantin Simonov, newly appointed secretary-general of the Union of Soviet Writers, has bitterly attacked the American theatre. Strangely enough, only three months ago he came to America to collect \$50,000 in royalties for his Stalingrad novel, *Days and Nights*, and left New York with three trunks full of American "corrupted" merchandise.

Monopoly and Free Enterprise When before recessing for the summer the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of the "Big Three" in the tobacco industry—American, Reynolds and Liggett, Myers—who were convicted of violating the Sherman Anti-trust Act and fined a total of \$225,000, it was a foregone conclusion that other concerns against whom similar action was pending would hurry to settle with the Government. This they did ten days ago in Federal District Court in Lexington, Kentucky, eight of them accepting fines which aggregated \$45,000. While the tobacco case was being wound up, a Federal Court in Danville, Illinois, after weighing tons of evidence, convicted the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, twelve of its subsidiaries and sixteen of its officials of conspiring to control a substantial part of the nation's food business. If an appeal to higher courts fails, each of the defendants will be faced with possible maximum penalties of a \$5,000 fine and a year in jail. Testifying from the stand, John Hartford, President of A&P, justified his business practices in these words: "Our company grew to its present size because we believed it was better to sell 200 pounds of butter at one cent per pound profit than 100 pounds at two cents per pound profit." In the minds of many people this argument will exonerate A&P of any wrongdoing. This we can understand, provided it is assumed that the ultimate purpose of economic activity is to put quality goods in the hands of consumers as cheaply as possible. What puzzles us is that some of the people who believe this are also zealous defenders of a system of free competition. Perhaps, using the tobacco and A&P cases as examples, the National Economic Council, the Committee for Constitutional Government and other reactionary "educational" outfits will explain this phenomenon to us.

Brazil's Christian Democracy Our biggest good neighbor to the south has this month a new Federal Constitution, replacing the semi-corporative instrument with which President Getulio Vargas was able, since 1937, to steer the country safely, though often precariously, through the world depression and war emergency.

The new organic law, with checks and balances similar to ours applied to the executive and legislative powers, serves further notice on the world that the cultured and highly educated Christian nations of the West have had their fill of centralized regimentation, and will be quit of economic straitjackets as soon as world trade returns to sanity. A large measure of provincial and local autonomy is now restored to the sovereign state-units within the *Estados Unidos do Brasil*. Deconcentration is encouraged and facilitated in agricultural and industrial sectors of the country's richly diversified economy, on principles of "social justice" and in defense of human rights. At the same time, and to the same end, the federal prerogative of socializing key economic enterprise in case of need is clearly asserted, as a tempered use of the right is clearly forecast. All these, and many other structural features of the *Estatuto* of 1946 reflect unmistakably the cardinal elements of the program of Christian Democracy, inspired largely by the Social Encyclicals, which is now being painfully but persistently elaborated by parties of the Democratic Center in the Constituent Assemblies of France and Italy and elsewhere on the European continent. Brazil today is blessed with a spiritual unity sufficiently compact to make compromise with absolutism of the Right or Left "strategically" unnecessary. Christian Democracy has been a muffled ideal through the turbulent half-century of experiment that has been Brazil's history since General Fonseca failed to make operative the first republican constitution of 1890. The new Charter would seem, finally, to guarantee ample breathing space and free play to the political genius of one of the world's great free Christian peoples.

Safeguarding Party Plurality Misgivings have been stirred here and there by a security-clause inserted in the Brazilian Constitution approved on September 17, which empowers the state to outlaw any party or group "whose programme of action is contrary to a democratic regime based on the plurality of parties and on the guarantee of fundamental human rights." The *New York Times*, for instance, is fearful that the provision may prove a two-edged weapon "which swings on a dubious definition of what a democratic regime may be." It would appear to us, on the contrary, that the exact notion of democracy has been further clarified, and the regime more effectively safeguarded, by the plain implication, particularly stressed by Christian Democracy everywhere, that no real democracy is possible without a plural-party parliament, and no republic viable without guarantees of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Totalitarians of every shade and shape agree on the strategy of the "one-party" line and list. Brazil seems to have found a way (as we have not) to determine which parties are legitimate and which subversive, on a very simple test. The *Times* is disturbed by the fear that a communist or other dictatorship which managed to seize power might use the clause in question to outlaw other parties arbitrarily. Doubtless it would; but by that time the Constitution itself wouldn't matter among "comrades" anyway. The outlaw clause is designed precisely to prevent

any such seizure of power. By way of coincidence, the Holy Father, speaking by radio on September 20 in praise of Switzerland's democracy, contrasted it with other regimes (easily identified) where "true democracy is supplanted by *totalitarian methods of a party*."

Rural Life at Green Bay When the National Catholic Rural Life Conference assembles at Green Bay, Wisconsin, on October 11 for a five-day session, it will be the first full-dress, national get-together of conference members since the Peoria meeting of 1942. While the intervening years witnessed no diminution of rural life activity, they did entail restrictions on the scope of annual conventions. This year Bishop Bona of Green Bay finds himself playing host to approximately thirty bishops, some thousand clergy and sisters and an indeterminate number of laity, coming from all parts of the United States and Canada. The importance of this year's conference—and it is singularly significant—springs from the determination of members to find a Christian and economically sound answer to questions of the world's hungry and homeless. Thousands, rather millions, who lack the basic necessities of life and find national doors barred to them, look hopefully in the direction of America's fertile acres. These should be able to yield them some food and space for a shelter above their heads. We need hardly mention the distressing plight of many domestic urban proletarians, who find food and a roof so elusive as to be almost out of reach. While recognizing that the days of initial immigration and the prairie frontier are over, many NCRLC members have come to feel that both our agriculture and our charity would prosper were we to admit a number of refugees under the category of potential family-size farmers. Even apart from the question of more farms, they know that there is room in uncongested and productive rural areas for further settlement of American Catholics and of outcasts from abroad. Today these people are crowded into cities or overpopulated lands where there is neither space nor the will to allow them the health, the life and the culture to which they have a right. The Green Bay convention will think of this and related problems, the answers to which add up to one conclusion—that even today, despite technical difficulties, the good earth and broad acres should be the home of more of our people than is now the case.

Farm Price Policy Again Whoever, in enthusiastic innocence or sheer sense of duty, tackles the problem of agricultural prices soon finds himself involved in numberless difficulties. For one thing, he learns there just isn't one solution to the problem. Farmers are finding that right now, as a record year brings in bumper crops of certain items. Potatoes, for example, are so plentiful that maintaining the support prices promised under the Steagall amendment has proved quite a problem. Actually the Government is going into the market in some areas and buying surpluses at \$1.55 a hundredweight just to keep the potato farmers from losing heavily on their investment. In former seasons the same procedure had to

be resorted to in the case of eggs and hogs. Farmers know that this is one way of protecting their reasonable income. They also know that plenty of people are not getting the food they need and desire, both here and abroad, and that much of the surpluses purchased to support prices will go to waste. An Iowa editor, writing on the subject, recently suggested that it would be better to let the farm products sell at depressed prices and then for the Government to make up the difference in direct subsidies. But not so long ago to practically all farmers, and still today to most, the idea of subsidies is anathema. All want some guarantee on their income. All seem to recognize that this is possible only if Government gives it to them. Yet neither traditional parity prices, nor the type of supports envisioned in present legislation, nor a free market with rigidly controlled production, have proved adequate answers. More and more farmers come to realize this as the thought of the world's hungry leads them to ponder. A World Food Board and domestic commodity credit corporations may indeed stabilize prices of storable crops with relative ease. But with the perishables they are almost at a complete loss, and with the semi-perishables, such as potatoes and eggs, they are not much less so. It is time we got busy on the really difficult questions of postwar agricultural price policy.

Non Tali Auxilio! It's a famous phrase, even if ancient, and it has been sent resounding round the world on a number of historic occasions. The other day six U. S. Jewish organizations hurled it at the *Protestant* and its editors. *Non tali auxilio!* "Help we need, and badly, but not your infamous help!" "Rather shall we fight alone, and if need be die, than suffer the disgrace of depending on you for defense!" The rejection of the *Protestant* by the Jewish groups is pregnant with this meaning:

While its solicitations of funds are ostensibly for the purpose of combating anti-Semitism, it has contributed to intergroup dissension . . . obstructed the development of good intergroup relations in the United States . . . and made irresponsible and malicious attacks upon Jewish agencies, national and local.

These charges were made by the National Community Relations Advisory Council, representing the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The *Protestant's* support is, as the Council well said "inimical to the interests of the Jewish community in America." AMERICA readers will remember its vicious attack on the patriotism of Cardinal (then Archbishop) Spellman on the occasion of his visit to the European theatre of war in 1943. ("Insult to an Archbishop," June 5, 1943). In February, 1944, Frederick Woltman of the New York *World Telegram* exposed the *Protestant's* faithful following of the communist party line. It would clear the air if representative Protestant groups would follow the example of their Jewish brethren and dissociate themselves publicly from this magazine, which bears a name they hold in honor.

Washington Front

From Congressmen beating canebrake and cornfield for November votes come rumblings of a move to scuttle the Congressional reorganization plan adopted in the last session. Some of the law-giving brethren, it seems, might be glad to accept the \$5,000 salary increase they voted themselves and forget about consolidation of overlapping committees, wiping out of numerous juicy chairmanships, registering of lobbyists and so on.

The move isn't organized yet, but it is sufficiently vocal to indicate a test of strength on the issue when the Eightieth Congress convenes in January. Although the House Democratic leadership never was enthusiastic about reorganizing, it is unlikely that the scuttling move could succeed. Certainly it will not if the public is awake.

The fact is that, while the able Messrs. LaFollette and Monroney probably got everything they could have when Congress voted the reform, reorganization should go further in the days ahead. For example, the seniority system, by which many a political hack comes to the chairmanship of some of the most powerful committees in Congress, should be overthrown.

It is outside the field of structural organization, but a job many would like to see accomplished would relate to overhauling the House Un-American Affairs Commit-

tee. A thorough personnel overturning is the real need.

Existence of this committee always has been a bitter fighting issue between so-called "liberals" and those who have favored it. There was no wish to add to the difficulties of passage of the Congressional modernization law with a row on "ideological" grounds. The committee remains one of the two or three in the House where dual membership is permitted—that is, members may sit on this committee plus another of the major committees growing out of consolidations.

That apparently means that the Mississippi statesman, Rep. John Rankin, could take the important veterans' affairs committee chairmanship to which seniority entitles him, and still be on the Un-American Affairs Committee. And the trouble with this committee has been John Rankin, and before him men like Martin Dies of Texas and Joe Starnes of Alabama.

Appointments to this committee, with a few exceptions, have been uniformly second-rate, and it has been easy for the Communists—now getting steadily bolder—to discredit it. Until demagogues and show-offs are pushed off its membership, it will continue to miss fulfilling its function in an important investigative field.

When the boys get together in January for the committee overhauling, it would be a happy circumstance if this committee could be given a string of new members—men of calibre, diligent and fair fact-finders. It is no job for loud-mouths and witch-hunters.

CHARLES LUCEY

Underscorings

General Ira C. Eaker's thanks to "the priests of all countries" for their willing and often heroic assistance to Allied airmen, recalls the fact that the invariable direction to airmen during the war was simply and eloquently: When forced to land in enemy territory, seek a Catholic priest. The General's thanks are a Congressional Medal of Honor for thousands.

► It is reported by the National Laywomen's Retreat Movement that closed retreats for women increased from 405 in 1939 to 720 in 1945, and the number of retreatants from 20,500 to 46,500. Chicago sponsored the first congress of the National Laywomen's Retreat Movement, in 1936; succeeding congresses met at Boston in 1937, New York in 1939, Providence, R. I. in 1941 and St. Louis in 1943. This year's congress will convene in Philadelphia from October 11 to 13.

► Manhattan College, New York, is inaugurating a new Department of Labor-Management in its School of Business Administration. Brother C. Justin, F.S.C., director of the new department, announces that twelve courses will be offered; among them, International Labor Movements, Trade Unionism, Industrial Relations, Job Analysis and Wage Policies, Labor Law, Labor Problems. . .

St. Peter's College, Jersey City, began a Labor School with the opening of the fall term.

► To its Sunday morning "Hour of Faith" (ABC) and its Sunday evening "Catholic Hour" (NBC), the National Council of Catholic Men added a third radio program on October 3. Called "Faith in Our Time," it will be heard on Thursday mornings at 10:15 over the Mutual Broadcasting System.

► Eighty-two students have enrolled in the School for Delayed Vocations, recently opened by the New England Jesuits in Boston. The students come from 18 States; 75 are former servicemen; of those who have indicated a choice of vocation, 41 are preparing for the diocesan priesthood and 26 for various religious orders.

► Chicago's City Council designated September 24 as Mercy Day in honor of the centenary of the work of the Sisters of Mercy in Chicago, where they conduct a college, 9 high schools, 46 grade schools, 8 hospitals, 6 nurses' training schools, 3 sanitariums, 4 houses for business women and 2 homes for the aged.

► A 50-page booklet, "The Old Faith and Old Glory," is being issued by the Archdiocese of Santa Fe to commemorate the centenary of the coming of the Stars and Stripes to Santa Fe and to record Catholic growth, 1846-1946. . . . A new retreat house for men, under direction of the Jesuit Fathers, was opened in early October on the Corning Estate near Albany, N. Y. It is the Jesuits' fourteenth retreat house in the United States. A.P.F.

Three years after

Three years have now passed since leading representatives of the three major religious groups in this country agreed on a common statement towards a moral basis for world peace. On October 7, 1943, there was issued, in seven points, but with separate preambles by Catholic, Protestant and Jewish signers, a "Declaration on World Peace." This statement, in the words of the Catholic preamble, embraced the "minimum requirements of a peace which Christians could endorse as being fair to all men." The seven points embodied principles of the moral law and their prime applications to the world problems of our day.

This statement was issued out of the conviction that the three religious sections of our population could and should give leadership in this country by pointing out the moral ends and moral imperatives that the problem of world peace involved. It was a specimen of successful agreement, among groups otherwise divided, against the common perils that threatened our civilization. It was inspired in part by similar examples coming from England, from occupied Europe and even from Nazi Germany.

The significance of the statement lay as much in its content as in the sponsorship. It invoked upon the American people a realization of their duties in the international scene. The fifth point, particularly, with its emphasis on international institutions to maintain peace with justice, may well have been a deciding factor enabling our country to proceed with plans for the United Nations. But it was also a warning to our policy-makers that religious groups could not be "counted out" in making decisions.

A perusal of the seven points shows that all of them have in greater or less degree been accepted as basic principles, although a long road must be trod before they are implemented in any satisfactory way. A strong effort is being made today towards the implementation of human rights. The rights of oppressed minorities are being written into the peace treaties in Paris. The dependent peoples have received hope and encouragement from the Philippines and India. Economic collaboration among nations is accepted as a key to world peace. The United Nations exists to fulfil the functions of developing international law and to supervise international security.

It would be fantastic and premature to imagine, least of all today, that our work is done, simply because these principles have been accepted in theory or even put into practice. The religious leaders who took the initiative in preparing and issuing the Declaration on World Peace had no illusions that a mere statement on their part, no

matter how widely circulated, would be enough. Nor did they have any illusion that the deference paid to their views by governmental authorities (particularly while the war was on and there was no way of testing their sincerity in actual practice) was a sure sign that international diplomacy, secularized through and through, had reformed itself. If anything, the developments of the past months seem to indicate that these same religious leaders are seeing that the ground gained by this spectacle of their united convictions is now being lost as we contend with the downward trend characteristic of every postwar era.

If the first point of the Declaration, in which it is declared that nations are "subject to the sovereignty of God and to the moral law which comes from God," managed to seep, however little, into the thought processes of international diplomacy, then the statement of three years ago will have borne rich fruit. If the Declaration had no other effect than to impress upon the world that foreign policy has a moral relevance and that religion is not just a "social force" to be used by politicians only when it suits them, it will have performed a mission that can have incalculable results down the years.

But have we lost the momentum that we gained during the war? If the world we see emerging from the war lacks morality and religion, one reason may be that Catholics, Protestants and Jews are not so active in urging the moral imperatives of a just peace as they were on October 7, 1943.

Everybody's "holy war"

Nothing but good can come from the sharpening up, in parliament, pulpit and press, of the fundamental conflict in human ideals which has brought atheistic communism and Christian Democracy to grips at long last on Europe's political battlefield. The more clearly the positive intellectual and moral issue is drawn by the teachers and statesmen, with political irrelevancies, clichés and prejudices laid aside for the "duration," the easier it will be for all men of good will to appreciate and accept the personal and collective challenge which they now face everywhere in the world, whether they labor and vote at home or in the UN or the Peace Conference.

Nevertheless, the irrelevancies, the clichés and the prejudice persist, impeding understanding and counsel. Christian Democracy's positive program of social and political reforms, in the national and international fields has received a good deal less than impartial reporting—to say nothing of the propaganda it merits—from our non-Catholic American publicists and preachers. Com-

munist has fared much better. Paul Hutchinson's sympathetic coverage of the CD forces at work rebuilding Western Europe, published in *Life* for September 23 ("Does Europe Face a Holy War?") fell on us like a revelation. Why hadn't we been told that communism has met a live and positive answer in every liberated country of Europe, and that the answer was so nearly like our own? The fact is that we have been told, for nearly a hundred years. But the message of Christian Democracy has come to us clouded by disastrous, sometimes deliberate and always inexcusable misconceptions. It has been variously defined and dismissed as a Catholic defense mechanism against all liberal social thought, an ecclesiastical party with socialistic overtones, and a handy arm in the Vatican diplomatic arsenal.

Mr. Hutchinson's article, doubtless unintentionally, contrives to repeat much of this indictment in subtle and dramatic form. Not a single count is true. From Ozanam through Toniolo, Vogelsang and La Tour du Pin to Sturzo, Bidault and De Gasperi, CD has never deserted the non-confessional plane or abandoned the positive campaign for integral social justice in face of any adversary to the Right or Left. If many American Protestants have been more reluctant than their European confrères to give unreserved support to a movement which embodies the best features of their several peace plans and declarations for world order, the Vatican-bogey is largely to blame. As late as June of this year the *Christian Century* (of which Mr. Hutchinson is an editor) was saying No to the obvious because the Holy Father had pointed it out:

But what is Protestantism to do? Take up a neutral position in this conflict which the Pope is launching in the name of Christianity? The conflict will eventually so shake the Western world that no religious groups can stay out of it. Should Protestants, in view of the Catholic record on religious liberty, repudiate the Pope's claim to be acting as a champion of freedom and take the communist side? That is equally impossible, for if the communist triumph ever becomes complete there will be no place left for religion. Nevertheless, in whatever efforts Protestants may make to protect human freedom and the rights of religion against the encroachments of the totalitarian state, they must be on their guard against appearing to be nothing more than minor appendages of the Vatican's shock troops.

Perhaps it would be better to drop the "holy war" pyrotechnics altogether, in deference to such tender sensibilities.

But Christian Democracy's crusade for social justice, for human rights and communal, will remain a holy struggle for those to whom the rights and destiny of the human person are sacred things. No Church has launched this crusade, though its plan of action stems from the solid realism of the papal social encyclicals. But communicants of all the churches (and of the Synagogue) are directly involved, as the *Christian Century* makes plain, in its success or failure. We owe our brother Christian Democrats the grace of recognition, sympathy and cooperation in an obviously common cause. The challenge to all of us is plain. We must commit ourselves,

our prayer, labor and sacrifice, to positive, responsible Christianity in action, or haul our banners down before its mortal enemy.

Peronismo and communism

Establishment this month of thought-control agencies in Argentina reminds us that we in the United States have only begun to read in the strange book which the advent of the Perón government has opened in South America. It is time we take a few lessons if our Good Neighbor policy is to be salvaged and restored to a working basis, after the blows which it suffered from Secretary Welles' resignation in 1943 up to and including our Blue Book on Argentina in February, 1946.

Fortune magazine for August of this year contained the following startling statement, in a review of the Good Neighbor situation by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.:

Peronismo and communism are now united on an anti-U. S. platform—a unity that in many places is leading to working collaboration. Always sensitive to political realities, the Argentine Communist Party is changing its line (though, like Mr. Braden, it denies that the Perón victory has affected its policy). Communists, for example, supported the Perón-inspired March meat-packing strikes with such disciplined enthusiasm that the Peronista *La Epoca* commented bitterly.

Perón, Mr. Schlesinger went on to say, will not hook up unreservedly with the Communists. He needs Church support and the help of other Latin countries too much to do that. Nevertheless, he is "seeking a new counterweight to the U. S."

So long as Perón and the Communists agree in wishing to destroy U. S. influence in South America they will join hands on many specific anti-U. S. issues. Together or apart, they present a fundamental threat to the Good Neighbor system and to U. S. security.

If this collusion of the semi-fascist dictator and the Communists were a mere accident, an oddity of the political merry-go-round, it might make us still a bit cautious, but we should not need to lend it too much concern. But there is a much more serious aspect to the affair. The very emergence of Perón, with the corresponding growth in communism's strength in all the Latin American countries, is a sign of a general transformation in the interior conditions of these countries which, if we do not rightly appraise it in the United States, can lead to a complete breakdown of our good relations and the isolation of the U. S. in the western hemisphere.

Mr. Schlesinger, in this same article, makes this deeper aspect of the matter extremely plain:

The great political fact in Latin America is the crumbling of the traditional oligarchies. The continent-wide upsurge against the landholders, the political bosses, the generals, has taken different forms. With Perón in Argentina, with Villaroel in Bolivia, with Vargas in Brazil, with Haedo in Uruguay, it

becomes a semi-fascist ideology. With Prestes in Brazil, with Lombardo Toledano in Mexico, it becomes the manifestation of communism. With Haya de la Torre in Peru, Rodriguez Larreta and his government in Uruguay, Betancourt in Colombia, it becomes an honest, groping effort to work out an indigenous democracy, oriented against Peronismo and communism alike.

Can anti-communist elements in US labor muster sufficient strength to break the strangle-hold which communism still maintains over the Latin-American labor confederation, CTAL? Can our Government rise to a sense of what are the real economic and political necessities of our common hemisphere? Where the Church is working for democracy and social reform in those countries, will it receive understanding and cooperation from Catholics in the United States? On the answer to these and many other questions depends the question whether our country can give effective help toward liberty and good government in the western hemisphere.

American Slav congress

All things considered, it was an amazing gathering that convened in Madison Square Garden on the night of September 22. To be fully appreciated it has to be set in its context and seen against its background.

The background is one of deteriorating American-Russian relations. For months past there has been friction at almost every point of contact. The press of Russia and its satellites has been pouring out denunciations and accusations against the United States. Our insistence on standing by our pledge of free elections in Poland is called an intolerable invasion of the rights of a sovereign state. Tito's airmen shoot down an unarmed transport with the loss of five American lives.

The context is that of the Wallace-Byrnes affair. After months of conciliatory methods and frustrated attempts at agreement, the United States finally decided to take a firmer line. Whatever value the Soviets might attach to their pledged word, we meant to stand by ours—with or without Russian cooperation. A mighty howl arose from the comrades, loudly echoed in this country by the *Daily Worker* and such like organs. Into the midst of this stepped Mr. Wallace with his ill-advised speech—dealing a staggering blow to American policy and prestige. At this moment of crisis in our relations with Russia came the final meeting, in Madison Square, of the American Slav Congress.

The roster of the meeting was impressive: Oscar Lange, Polish Ambassador to the United States; Sava N. Kosanovitch, Tito's Ambassador to the United States; General Karol Swierczewski, Polish Vice Minister of War; Alexander Korneichuk and Alexander Yergunov, deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—true men all in their devotion to Russia and the party line. The crowd—estimated at 9,000 by the *Times* and 15,000 by the *Daily Worker*—booed loudly at the mention of our Secretary

of State's name, and applauded every mention of Mr. Wallace. Citizen Genêt, of French Revolution fame, had his shade been in the Garden that night, would surely have wondered why President Washington made such a fuss about his comparatively small-scale political meddling. What he would have thought when a telegram from Premier Stalin was read and Marshal Tito's greetings were brought to the meeting is anybody's guess.

The beating of the Pan-Slav drum and the obvious intent of rallying Slavic groups in America behind Russia's foreign policy make an interesting comparison with Hitler's German-American Bund.

Surely the spectacle of the agents and ambassadors of foreign Powers thrusting themselves blatantly into the business of mobilizing opinion against our foreign policy and in favor of their own is one to give us pause. Is it not time that we insisted on some reciprocity in this matter? There can be no complaint about injustice if we allow the agents of a foreign state the same privileges that it accords to ours—or submit them to the same restrictions. If our representatives are not allowed freedom of travel by the Soviets, we can insist that their representatives stay in Washington. If they reduce the number of our representatives, we can reduce theirs in proportion. If our representatives may not criticize the Soviet Government and its policies, in the press and public meetings, we can refuse the like privilege to the Soviet representatives here. We can meet them halfway; but no more than half-way. We cannot afford to tolerate such abuses of our hospitality as occurred at Madison Square Garden. The State Department might well take the matter under advisement.

New South emerging

That the South—favorite whipping-boy of American liberal opinion—is not all Bilbo and Tobacco Road was made clear at the sixth annual convention of the Catholic Committee of the South held recently in New Orleans. "It used to be" said Cardinal Stritch (a Tennessean) to the convention,

that we didn't recognize our problems in the South; it was impolite to mention them. But now we face the problems in all their stark reality and are making efforts to make our Southland a bulwark of Christian democracy.

Quoting Pope Pius XII's admonition, in a letter to the Editor of *AMERICA*, that social problems must be faced with candor and that the answers given by reason and Christian principles must be accepted with resolute courage, Archbishop Lucey of San Antonio asked: "Have we the courage to organize discussion clubs among the laity so that they may understand the nature of racial injustice?" Would the laity accept the Christian solution with "resolute courage"?

The presence of David E. Lilienthal of TVA, who received the annual CCS award, of former Governor Sam Houston Jones of Texas, of Cardinal Stritch, of thirteen bishops and archbishops, shows that there is plenty of leadership to bring a flowering of democracy to the South.

The guaranteed annual wage

Benjamin L. Masse

"The man who first conceived the hourly wage contract and imposed it on industry, must have been inspired by the devil."

The speaker was one of the nation's top-flight industrialists and this was not the first time he had shocked my native conservatism and aroused my clerical antipathy to disorder and disturbance of the *status quo*.

"If you stop to think of it," he continued, "from the hourly wage arose the practice, once so prevalent in business, of treating labor as a commodity on a supply and demand basis. The hourly wage seemed to justify in the mind of the employer the brutal system of making the workers take the rap for every downswing in the business cycle. Since the contract called for so many cents an hour for every hour worked, the employer fulfilled the contract and satisfied his conscience by paying so many cents an hour for every hour worked. If no hours were worked, he did not feel obliged to pay anything at all; and if he suddenly stopped operations and dismissed the worker, that was just one of those things. He cancelled orders from his suppliers in exactly the same way."

Only the other day I recalled this conversation when I read the press account of a speech which Henry Ford II, president of the Ford Motor Company, delivered two weeks ago before the Economic Club of Detroit. In what appeared to be the opening shot in an employer counter-offensive against approaching labor demands for a guaranteed annual wage, Mr. Ford warned workers to beware of "seductive promises of security" which might endanger their freedom. He suggested that the guaranteed annual wage was a "political phony"; that the phrase itself implied that someone is "in a position to guarantee an annual wage and is merely refusing to do so." And then he continued:

I doubt very much whether the American wage earner really believes that anybody can guarantee security in this world. What he really wants is steady employment at a fair rate of pay. We at the Ford Motor Company are certainly not today in any position to "guarantee an annual wage."

Reading that story I remembered something else, too. I recalled the afternoon a year or so ago when the chief economist of one of our great corporations called to discuss a scheme I had proposed, which involved a kind of subsidy, to make the guaranteed annual wage more palatable to employers.

"Regardless of the theoretical soundness or unsoundness of your plan," he said, "so far as American big business goes a subsidy is unnecessary and therefore impractical. There is not a major corporation in the United States which, if it so desired, could not put wages on a guaranteed annual basis tomorrow."

I told him that I was skeptical and that it was obvious that many industrialists were, also. But he refused to

The President of the United States asked the President of the CIO what in the latter's judgment was the single greatest cause of unrest among the workers. Mr. Murray replied without hesitation and with a single word: "Insecurity." Father Masse discusses one possible way to security.

back down and added only: "Our talk of course is off the record." That explains the anonymity.

Mr. Ford's statement to the Detroit Economic Club is interesting on several grounds, but for the purpose of this article I am concerned only with the attitude it reveals.

A good deal of research has been done on the subject of guaranteed annual wages. There is a full length book, *Guaranteed Annual Wages*, written by Jack Chernick and George Hellickson and published by the University of Minnesota Press. There is a study by Alice Lenore Nielsen, which was prepared in 1944 for the Wage Stabilization Division of the National War Labor Board. Independent studies are being made by the Brookings Institution and the Harvard School of Business Administration. The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has done considerable down-to-the-earth research on the subject and is still working at it.

Then there is the monumental study which was authorized by the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion at the instance of the late President Roosevelt. The immediate responsibility for this job lies with a subcommittee of the OWMR advisory board under the chairmanship of Eric A. Johnston, who retired only this year as president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. The actual work is under the direction of Murray W. Latimer, former chairman of the Railroad Retirement Board, and Arthur S. Meyer, chairman of the New York State Mediation Board. From the following set of questions, published last spring in *Business Week*, a good idea of the scope of this undertaking can be obtained:

1. What degree of employment stability may be expected to result from a given degree of production regularity?
2. What methods have been employed by any industry to regularize production and to what extent can they be adopted by other industries or establishments?
3. Given a particular degree of regularity in production, what further steps in relation to other operations are needed to insure corresponding stability in employment?
4. What are the character and volume of costs involved in regularization and stabilization?
5. What economic repercussions are likely to result from changes in marketing, production or other operations? Would they be desirable?
6. What is the relation of guaranteed annual wage plans to other fields which have a relationship to employment, to wages and to efforts to stabilize employment and income (such as social security, minimum wages, taxation, banking and currency, and others)?

In addition to these scholarly undertakings, there have been innumerable articles and editorials in newspapers and magazines, most of them within the past two or three

years. Quite obviously, then, the guaranteed annual wage idea is no fly-by-night proposal.

Furthermore, labor's demand for a guaranteed annual wage has not been advanced thoughtlessly, or for bargaining reasons, or to maneuver employers into an embarrassing position. This charge was made in 1944 when CIO President Philip Murray introduced the guaranteed annual wage into negotiations with the steel industry. At that time AMERICA warned editorially that the steel industry would make a mistake if it entered negotiations in the belief that Mr. Murray was using the demand for a guaranteed wage merely as a bargaining counter. The editorial expressed the conviction that he was even more serious about this than he was about breaking the "Little Steel" formula. The warning was little noticed, but events have since substantiated this judgment, which, if the truth must be told, required no special acumen on the part of the AMERICA staff.

The story goes back several years to one of those waves of widespread labor unrest which periodically plague industrial relations in this country. In his office in the White House the President of the United States asked the President of the CIO what in the latter's judgment was the greatest single cause of unrest among the workers. Mr. Murray replied without hesitation and with a single word: "Insecurity." "What is your answer to this problem?" the late Mr. Roosevelt then asked. And Mr. Murray answered: "The guaranteed annual wage."

That was the beginning of the present CIO drive for the annual wage, and, knowing about the meeting in the White House, AMERICA had no difficulty about predicting Mr. Murray's strategy.

But the history of the proposal goes back farther than that and was first seriously considered, as far as I know, in 1936 in connection with the construction industry, where the AFL holds most of the contracts. Following six or seven years of sporadic discussion and study, in October, 1943, the Labor-Management Planning Committee on Postwar Problems of the National Electrical Contractors Association and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) adopted a resolution favoring the annual wage and recommended immediate experimentation. Here is the pertinent passage:

Well-established contractors could well enter into agreements with local unions guaranteeing full-time employment on an annual income basis. Of course this implies a certain amount of reserve funds so that the local union can be guaranteed payment on this basis. If the plan is successful on a local basis, it appears to the Planning Committee that it would be easy to pass to the annual income form of payment on a national scale as the industry progresses to closer organization and to more mobility.

Other AFL unions are interested and other employer groups have been just as receptive to the idea as the electrical contractors. In addition to the well-known plans in effect at the Nunn-Bush Shoe Company, the Geo. A. Hormel Company, Sears Roebuck & Company and Procter and Gamble, variants of the annual wage are in operation in a number of other corporations, including such famous companies as Standard Oil of California,

Atlantic Refining, Armstrong Cork and Eastman Kodak. Even people in Detroit will be surprised to know that General Motors once tried what it called an "income security" plan. This assured over 80,000 workers at least sixty per cent of a standard year's wage, but with the coming of war, when employment was continuous anyway, the plan was dropped.

The Scripps-Howard newspaper chain can scarcely be called radical, yet it has placed the full authority of its editorial columns behind the guaranteed annual wage. Commenting on the late President Roosevelt's initiative in sponsoring a study of the question, its New York organ, the *World-Telegram*, said on March 29, 1945:

We don't say you can get the annual wage overnight. We do say we need it.

We need regularity in our economic order—the expectation of regular pay for the worker, the expectation of regular business for the industrialist, the expectation of regular return for the investor.

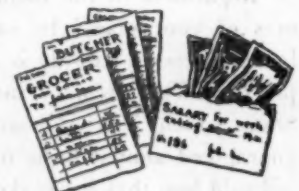
We could start with a guaranteed wage. That's why we like F.D.R.'s suggestion to go ahead and look into it.

We have a hunch it's coming. Not tomorrow, maybe nor even the day after. But it's in the cards.

It would be an easy task to go on in this way for several more pages, but I have said enough to show the reader why I am concerned over the attitude revealed by Mr. Ford's remarks to the Detroit Economic Club. In view of the evidence adduced here, which shows that the proposal for a guaranteed annual wage is a serious one, that it has been sincerely advanced by organized labor and has been welcomed by important sectors of American industry and journalism, what can one make of Mr. Ford's reference to the idea as a "seductive promise of security" and a "political phony"?

Other industrialists, it is true, have carelessly and harshly criticized the annual-wage proposal, but some of us expect more of Mr. Ford. The present writer believes that he is sincerely interested in improving relations with organized labor and that he wants to practice what he calls the "democratic art of getting along with each other." He may honestly feel that the guaranteed annual wage is unworkable, as it may well be, and if he had said this quietly, giving his reasons, no one would have raised an eyebrow. Why then did he reject the idea in terms that questioned the sincerity of labor leaders and insulted their intelligence, along with the intelligences of serious scholars, and even of brother industrialists? Any student of industrial relations could have told him that this cavalier way of rejecting a reform earnestly desired by workers would surely antagonize them and embitter future relations.

My own answer is that Mr. Ford did not intend to say what he actually said, or, being a very busy man, did not fully realize the implications of what he was saying. If he uses, in his future research on this subject, other sources than the ones he depended on for his Detroit address, his next public pronouncement may be more helpful to all concerned.



Immigration in Canada

E. L. Chicanot

Mr. Chicanot, Canadian journalist, came to Montreal from England. He has lived in many parts of the Dominion and is a close student of its affairs. Here he discusses the attitudes of Canada and its mixed population vis-à-vis the problem of immigration and the balancing of populations.

Canada's parliament prorogued on the last day of August without any decision having been arrived at with regard to a future immigration into the country. This despite the fact that a Senate immigration and labor committee recommended adoption of a policy of selective immigration of both agricultural and industrial workers and that a sub-committee of the Cabinet had for two months given a close study to the entire matter.

During the year the law respecting naturalization and citizenship was renovated and the Government established inspectional facilities for the civil and medical examination of emigrants to the Dominion in Northern Europe. But the doorway to the country was opened the merest chink, insufficient to indicate Canada's permanent attitude towards this important matter.

Legislation was passed providing for admission to Canada of certain relatives of legal residents of the Dominion, providing the Canadian relatives will house and support them. Of some 200,000 Polish veterans who fought in Italy and would like to come to Canada 4,000 single men are to be admitted "conditionally," "partly to relieve their plight and partly to relieve what appears to be a permanent shortage in agricultural work." They must sign an agreement to be directed to agricultural work and remain in such employment for two years. Those filling these conditions will be allowed to remain in Canada permanently; otherwise they will be returned to the United Kingdom, which accepts responsibility for them and is providing transport and paying all costs of transportation. A resolution of organizations representing Canada's 200,000 Catholics of Ukrainian ancestry petitioning the Government to grant entry into Canada of "as many of our kin from Europe as may be found just and possible" elicited no tangible response. Nor has the suggestion, from Cardinal McGuigan among others, that thousands of the homeless and unhappy people of Europe be brought to Canada to start new lives, made any apparent impression upon the authorities.

Immigration is one of the most contentious questions facing Canada at the outset of this post-war period, of crucial significance to the future of the Dominion, and not without import to its neighbor to the south. Canada stands on the threshold of an entirely new era as regards the part this factor is to play in future population development, and a wide disparity of attitude and view is apparent among her people. It is realized that, with the reabsorption into civil life of members of the armed services and with ocean transport facilities rapidly coming back to a normal basis, announcement of a policy of immigration cannot much longer be delayed. Machinery must soon be set up and functioning if the Dominion is not to lose out to other countries in taking advantage of the unquestionably favorable European situation.

But what is the country's policy to be? On the face of it it would seem simple enough. Either Canada wants immigrants or she doesn't, and flings the doors open or closes them tight accordingly. But in the case of Canada it is not as easy as that.

Canada, with the exception of Australia, is the most sparsely settled country in the world, with less than 3.5 persons per square mile. It is unquestionably capable of sustaining many more people, possibly, according to authorities, up to nearly three times its present population. Generally speaking, there is realization of the urgency of effecting more intensive settlement, a pervading doubt in fact, as to whether so small a people can indefinitely reserve the right to exclusively occupy so large a part of the earth's surface. But as to how this is to be brought about opinion sharply divides.

Canada has, of course, been built up by immigration. Early settlement and development of the country was effected by two main streams, colonists from France and United Empire Loyalists from the United States. Thereafter the population grew slowly but steadily, largely by natural increase, until the opening of the great west with its lure of free fertile land drew homeseekers from all over the globe. In the period from Confederation in 1867 up to the depression of 1931, Canada received six and a half million immigrants. It is true that at the time of the latter census less than thirty-three per cent of these could be accounted for, some having returned to homelands and more seeped away to the United States; but it is nevertheless also true that Canada's periods of healthy population growth have corresponded with her periods of substantial immigration.

Sir Wilfred Laurier said that the twentieth century was to be Canada's, and it certainly seemed to start out that way from the basis of a population of approximately 5,400,000. Between 1871 and the opening of the century, Dominion population increased in each successive decade by a consistent 11 to 12 per cent. In the decade 1900-1910 alone, 1,800,000 immigrants entered the country, and the decennial rate of increase in the population was 34 per cent. The war temporarily disturbed this heavy movement, but there was a vigorous resumption after the conclusion of hostilities, so that a population increase of 22 per cent was achieved in the decade 1920-1930.

For the greater part of the following decade Canada threshed in the throes of the great depression, and she had far from recovered to the extent where encouragement of the entry of new citizens from external sources was justified when the Second World War broke out. The result was that in the decade 1930-1940 natural increase accounted for more additions to the census roll than did immigration, and the rate of increase in the population was less than eleven per cent.

This broadly is the situation confronting the Government, one which would seem to demand as an imperative necessity the removal of the barriers to immigration if the country is to resume that progress and healthy growth experienced in the first decades of the century. Yet recognition of the need by no means solves the problem as far as action to be taken by the Government is concerned.

First of all, consideration must be given to the composition of the existing population, which it is proposed to augment by means of immigration. The somewhat romantic but also somewhat adventitious manner in which Canada's population was founded, and the lines along which it was latterly quite extensively directed, have given it a peculiar conformation, which is on the whole found generally satisfactory.

At the last census in 1941 the proportion of stock in the population from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales stood at 49.67 per cent, having declined from 60.65 per cent in 1871 in spite of millions of immigrants from the British Isles during seventy years. French stood at 31 per cent, this element having lost but a fraction of one per cent in the period, with the factor of immigration from the homeland being virtually negligible. The remaining approximately 20 per cent is accountable to those citizens who have come to Canada from the various countries of the continent of Europe.

There is sufficient in the foregoing paragraphs to suggest a marked variety of attitudes towards the matter of a future immigration movement to Canada. People of British origin, unable to maintain their place in the population even with the bolstering of large supplies of their stock from overseas, are naturally desirous, if immigration is to be stimulated, to confine it largely if not exclusively to people of the British Isles. The French, who have successfully maintained their position in the total population almost entirely by natural increase, but whose birthrate, though still the largest in Canada, inevitably shares in the modern tendency to decline, are generally opposed to all immigration as possibly endangering the place they have thus far successfully held. The continental European element, made up of many nationalities, is in any of them too small a minority to have very much of a voice, and the attitude of other peoples towards this section is to do nothing to swell it so unduly as to throw it out of balance with the other elements in the population.

Over against these preferences and prejudices is another set of conditions which the Canadian Government must take into account in framing an immigration policy for the years ahead. It must try and reconcile these with their attempts to meet the wishes of the Canadian people and plan for the best interests in the future of the nation.

It has been too widely publicized for many anywhere to be ignorant of the fact that Britain has a population problem of the most critical nature. Britain's birthrate has been falling so consistently that the point has been reached where it is equaled by deaths, and a decline is

due to set in. Every phase of the nation's life is disturbed over the situation, and scientists, doctors, thinkers, are concentrated upon finding a remedy for the national anaemia. Whether they will succeed in halting this trend, which portends the eventual virtual disappearance of the race, remains problematic, but it seems certain that the little island which formerly sent millions of her sons and daughters to populate the vacant places of the globe is at the end of her career as a colonizer and has no longer surplus blood to pump in and energize newer countries. While, if encouraged, there would undoubtedly be a spurt of emigration activity as many people, in the reaction to the war years, are eager to get away from the homeland, it would seem futile ever to expect a voluminous and sustained movement of people from this direction.

On the other hand, should it be decided to keep down the numbers of settlers from continental Europe to within their present proportion it seems inevitable that the future of the nation should be very greatly affected.

The elementary, rough work of Canada, the pioneering, has always been done by immigrants. They are responsible for clearing the land, for the building of railways, the digging of ditches and canals, for all the tasks requiring hard labor. Their children usually rise to a higher economic level, aspire to white-collar positions, and the place of immigrants can only be taken by other immigrants.

There has been only negligible immigration into Canada for fifteen years or so and the conditions this would ordinarily create have been worsened by many soldiers being taken from agriculture and primary industry who in the army have learned new trades and are not disposed to go back to their former work.

If Canada is to achieve that further progress and development of which all agree she is capable, and to which she is enthusiastically urged, it cannot be otherwise than based on the labors of new pioneers and primary workers. This, it would seem, could only be provided through permitting the entry of more immigrants from continental Europe, taking the risk of throwing the other elements in the population out of balance.

The foregoing goes far in explaining why the Canadian Government hesitates to take definite action while Australia, Brazil, Argentina and other countries move to profit from the peculiarly favorable conditions for securing desirable immigrants existing in Europe today. It is not difficult to understand its perplexity as time passes and the necessity of formulating and declaring a comprehensive and long-term policy of immigration becomes more urgent. It has to endeavor to please several sections of the Canadian people, meet a set of conditions which makes this virtually impossible, and through the many intricacies steer an acceptable course.

But whatever does transpire, sooner or later, certain it is that an entirely new era of population development will open up for Canada, one that may be fraught with significant changes in the character and composition of the Canadian people.



On re-interpreting our peace plans

Robert A. Graham

At a moment when our principles seem challenged by facts and force, Father Graham discusses some of the technical problems of peacemaking and international organization, with a view to putting current discussions of the UN and the Paris Peace Conference in their proper focus.

When you get delivery on your postwar automobile you will be told to drive rather slowly at first and after the accustomed shake-down period to bring her back to the dealers to be checked for any defects and "bugs" that may have manifested themselves. Those who spent the long evenings of the war years studying and planning the kind of a peace they wanted are faced with a similar injunction. It is a year now since we have taken delivery of our postwar world, and our factory-made instrument of peace needs inspection. How valid and practical have been the aims and principles that we resolved to follow for a world at peace?

The business of peace planning takes on an entirely different aspect when the time comes to put the blueprints into operation. The hard facts of international politics, the general moral let-down and consequent confusion and disunity that necessarily follow the supreme effort of making war, have thrown upon our peace plans a light that only experience could provide. It now seems opportune, if not imperative, for us to begin analyzing our plans with an eye to discover their defects and to remove the "bugs."

Looking over the happenings of the recent months, one is, of course, impressed by the tension that exists among the Allies who cooperated so closely during the war. However, from the viewpoint of principles for peace, this should be interpreted not simply as a rift among the major Powers, but in a more specific and technical aspect as a growing tendency to rely upon force, unilaterally applied, as the solution of our international difficulties. On this point, it seems to me, the inquiry on the validity of our peace principles should be focused.

Our postwar world order, in the plans we sponsored while the war was on, was to be based on the repudiation of force and the substitution of the peaceful methods of negotiation for unilateral assertions of one's national rights. As a form of practical application of this general idea the major Powers at an early date projected a program for "joint and agreed action." Unilateral action, with the spheres of influence, balance of power that it leads up to, was regarded as a throwback to an old world of power politics. As a precondition for a truly juridical world order we considered that the great states should give signs that they were willing to give up their time-honored prerogatives of being the final and sole judges of their international conduct. The moral thought behind this program was that power, exercised as the instrument of each nation, at each nation's option and in the exclusive light of each nation's interests (as determined by itself) could never provide the beginnings of a moral, much less of a peaceful world. The subservience of power to law required first of all that the great states repudiate the habits of unilateral action which in the

past had been the hall-mark of their absolute sovereignty.

It may help to see the problem in a better light if we distinguish two elements in this program for a new world structure, as envisioned by us during the war. The first element is the agreement itself. Obviously agreement requires and supposes that the nations can and will agree. The second element is the moral obligation that falls upon each nation to abide by the spirit of the "joint and agreed action," regardless of the compliance or non-compliance of any other nation. Both the letter and the spirit, I may add, are indispensable for the creation of the "new world" we hoped would come out of the Second World War.

As to the first element of that program, that of joint and agreed action, mounting difficulties and a growing conviction that the Soviet Union is not sincerely cooperating have precipitated a crisis in our attitude. After long and serious consideration our Government decided to proceed with the economic unification of as much of Germany as we could—our zone, the British and the French zones. We carefully explained for the record that the Potsdam agreement called for such economic unification of all Germany, but that the Soviets have consistently shown themselves unwilling to implement the agreement. But we explicitly left the door open for them to join us. What has already begun in Germany may soon be inaugurated in Austria, as the visit of General Mark Clark to Washington portends. Our early experiences in the Berlin Allied Control Commission provided us with a timely experience that saved General MacArthur and our occupation policy in Japan from having to experience similar frustrations.

Some months ago our occupation seized all the barges (900 of them) we could find in our zone on the upper Danube. This action followed the arbitrary seizure by the Red Army of the Danube Steamship Company, in defiance of the Potsdam agreement. These and similar actions by the USSR have prompted General Mark Clark to declare last week that the Russians had shown no intention of living up to their pledge under the Potsdam agreement to help form a democratic and independent Austria. It would not surprise anyone in Washington if General Clark's visit to the United States portends some drastic policies designed to salvage what we can out of the breakdown of the Potsdam agreement for Austria. In Trieste, occupied at this moment by the troops of the 88th Division, we are learning that in the settlement of a dispute it makes a big difference whose soldiers are on the scene.

In sum, our Government is feeling the growing necessity of utilizing not the channels of "joint and agreed action," but unilateral decision and action. Thus power

is gradually making its re-entry into international policy, undisguised and under the best of auspices. The crisis of this new development is not that our actions in this direction have been wrong or bad. The problem is just the opposite, that they are good and necessary! We now begin to discover that the power of a nation, even though exercised unilaterally, is proving to be the chief defense of human liberty and of the ideals of the Atlantic Charter. We are now finding that power—which we used to anathematize in the press and from the pulpit—is so far from being the source of war that it has appeared as the answer to postwar chaos and the first requisite for a stable world order. The principle of law, we are finding, is not half so effective in the implementation of right and justice as a timely seizure of 900 barges on the Danube, or the cruise of a brand new 45,000-ton aircraft carrier through the Mediterranean.

Thus peace planners find that the first element in our basic strategy for world peace—that of joint and agreed action among the major Powers—seems seriously threatened. It has been precipitated by the intransigence of the Russians and their arbitrary interpretations or repudiations of such agreements. We can say without being suspected of chauvinism that our actions in the recent past have not been wanton or unprovoked. Our own unilateral action took place long after it was evident that the USSR had decided to act unilaterally itself. We are now faced with the interesting problem of trying to adjust these experiences of ours into the framework of our peace principles. For we have before us, on the one hand, the growing practical necessity of unilateral exercise of our power and, on the other hand the inherent moral imperative of the repudiation of power as the arbiter of international politics.

There are two answers that can be provided at this point. One is to refuse to admit that "joint and agreed action" among the major states is still impossible. Strange to say, despite all appearances to the contrary, this is the present attitude of Secretary Byrnes. One must cut beneath the conflicts of the Big Three to find the key principles upon which our diplomats have been working. The policy makers in Washington have the conviction that to abandon efforts to reach understanding and agreement with the Soviet Union will be, in effect, to surrender to the dangerous concept of spheres of influence.

Nothing could more quickly lead to "two worlds" than the abandonment of the program for joint action. It would be a great mistake to read into the "firmness" policy of Mr. Byrnes any intention of dividing the world into two parts. Mr. Byrnes, in contrast to former Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace, believes that the best way to achieve that joint action is by showing to the Russians the alternative of non-cooperation. This is to present them with the clear picture of an America fully prepared, by military action if necessary, to take the means to implement the principles we hold by.

The view of Secretary Wallace is in fact, despite his announced support of the concept of "one world," in fundamental opposition to the position assumed by Mr.

Byrnes. Mr. Wallace assumes the policy of spheres of influence, which in its turn automatically implies unilateralism and the division of the world on the basis of zones of power.

The Wallace-Byrnes dispute has brought to our attention the fact that the United States policy towards "joint and agreed action" among the nations remains unaltered, despite Soviet unilateralism. The growing employment of our own separate action should not for one minute be regarded as abandonment of our efforts to achieve agreement at our points of contact. But for peace-planners, who hadn't very clearly conceived the course that power could take towards achieving world unity, the developments of the recent months provide much food for thought. No one better understands the difficulty of our relations with the Soviet Union than Secretary Byrnes. And no one realizes better the risks of abandoning the effort. If the element of force has crept into our dealings, this should be interpreted, not necessarily as a return to the pre-war philosophy of power politics, but as a way to convince the Soviet Union that her best interests are served by greater cooperation and less intransigence. We have tried concessions; we are now trying "firmness." But the objective is the same—the achievement of a world in which "joint and agreed action" can serve as the opening door to a better world order.

A second answer to the problem rests on the second element of our peace-planning. And this is to recall that the moral principles that should guide nations are not conditioned upon their acceptance by each and every nation. Power politics is bad whether the Russians agree that it is or not. Soviet intransigence does not entitle us to embark on policies that are rooted in the philosophy of power. Nor do the temporary advantages that this technique affords us provide any justification for thinking that the unilateral use of the might of the United States, no matter how noble our motives at the beginning, is a stable foundation for an international order based on moral principles.

There is, in short, a danger that our present difficulties with the Russians are likely to provoke a wholesale junking of every good and sound principle we espoused during the war. We are now faced with the re-emergence of the factor of power as a very real influence in the world. How shall it be used? Do we know just where power fits into our philosophy of peace? We seem to be moving to a stage closer and closer to reliance upon power as the solution of our troubles. How great a temptation will this prove to be towards a re-adoption of the ideas and methods we thought we had gotten rid of forever?

We are feeling the impact of the ever-present, all-pervading, and perhaps over-mastering element of force. How to integrate force into the real world of the post-war, how to grapple with this thing that will not be downed, is the crisis of our peace-planners. The experience of our one year of peace has revealed at least this "bug" in our nice blueprints. We find ourselves faced with all the provocations towards power politics. And

we face the greatest danger of throwing overboard all the ideals we espoused during the war. Is there a Christian solution to the problem of Russia? If force is the condition of good relations with the Soviet Union, that is not merely a challenge to our diplomats. It is also a challenge for Christians to find out how that force can be employed *vis-a-vis* the USSR without destroying the pattern of a moral world order we set up for ourselves in the dark days of the war when all these principles seemed so clear and appealing. The outcome will be determined by the vision and leadership qualities of the American people.

Two systems— parochial and public

Allan P. Farrell

The Catholic slogan, "Every Catholic child in a Catholic school," is often stretched to the imaginary conclusion that Catholics are therefore opposed to the existence of the public school system. The conclusion is erroneous and mischievous. True as it certainly is that Catholics are committed to their own system of schools, they are far from denying, either by word or deed, legitimate rights and privileges to the system of public schools. Some two million Catholic children actually attend the public schools, many thousands of Catholics teach in them and Catholic money helps to support them.

But are not Catholics forever criticizing the public school system? Catholics and many more besides! And some of the severest criticism comes from circles outside the Catholic Church—from teachers in public schools and parents of public school children. The extreme sensitivity, however, over Catholic criticism of public schools arises (except in cases where the criticism is exaggerated or tactless) from the unsound assumption that inasmuch as Catholics, generally, do not accept the public school system for their children, they have no right to be critical of it. The assumption ignores the fact that Catholics are citizens interested in the general welfare of their country, and that they have the same right as anybody else to voice their views on public affairs and public institutions.

Consider for a moment what is called Catholic "opposition" to the public schools. Its first article is the general prohibition in Canon Law against Catholics attending public schools. Only the bishop of the place may decide in what circumstances and with what precautions such attendance at public schools may be tolerated without danger to the faith of the pupils. The prohibition is not without reason. The Church believes that religious and secular instruction cannot be separated in the training of youth without serious harm to their development. And she maintains that religious training does not consist solely in religious instruction, but in religious atmosphere, contact, teaching, guidance and example. Pius XI's Encyclical on Christian Education is emphatic on this head:

The mere fact that a school gives some religious instruction (often extremely stinted), does not bring it into accord with the rights of the Church and of the Christian family, or make it a fit place for Catholic students. To be this, it is necessary that all the teaching and the whole organization of the school, and its teachers, syllabus and textbooks in every branch, be regulated by the Christian spirit, under the direction and maternal supervision of the Church; so that religion may be in very truth the foundation and crown of the youth's entire training.

Catholics are "opposed," also, to the pretensions of spokesmen for public education that it is the distinctively American system and that other kinds of schools tend to be "a divisive force" and "an inherent threat to the democratic process." Catholics know too much of American history and too well the ideals of the Founding Fathers for American education not to reject these claims. They are no more valid than the interpretation grafted onto the "Separation of Church and State" as it affects education—"the doctrine that the State shall not appropriate money to religious institutions." It has proved a successful rallying cry for those who fear the approach of any "institutionalized rival to the common public school." Nevertheless Catholics have persisted in their efforts to break up the rally.

But the most persistent Catholic "opposition" to public schools has been based on their unabashed secularism. Nor has Catholic opposition on this score had to stand in isolation. Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of the *Protestant Christian Century*, recently blamed the secularized public school not only for the widespread religious illiteracy of our generation but for Protestantism's loss of its former ascendancy in the national culture. He is restating a long-standing Catholic position when he says:

Our educational system has been the most powerful influence in determining the mind-set of generation after generation of our youth. With respect to religion, this influence has been exercised under a theory of neutrality which has excluded all instruction in religion from general education. Thus, on a vast scale, the mentality of our citizenship has been "neutralized" on a basis of virtual ignorance of the Christian faith and of religion in general.

However, this neutrality is not merely neutral. It is positive. It takes the form of secularism which, when not overtly hostile to religion, is ignorant of it and indifferent to it.

And in another place he says: "The Catholic educational policy is hostile to the public schools which, rightly enough, it calls 'godless.'" Dr. Luther Weigle, of Yale, has been repeating the same criticism these many years:

When the public school ignores religion, it conveys to our children the suggestion that religion is without truth or value. It becomes, quite unintentionally, I grant, a fosterer of atheism and irreligion.

Catholics have put up no stronger opposition than this to the secularism of the public school system.

The query returns. Does this Catholic "opposition" to public education, as now constituted, argue a desire for the abolition of the public-school system? Is it inconsistent with a policy of friendly relationship and cooperation between parochial and public schools? Both ques-

tions, it seems to us, should be answered with an emphatic No. Criticism and cooperation are not mutually exclusive. Indeed only when there is cooperation can criticism become acceptable and fully effective. And so if Catholics want to help in the improvement of public education, and at the same time bring to public attention the contribution of their own system of schools to the general welfare of the nation, the way to do it is by establishing mutually friendly relations between their schools and the public schools. It will not be done by maintaining a spirit of educational isolationism.

When the bases of relationship and cooperation between parochial and public schools are examined, they will be found to be at once sound and practical.

Both systems of schools are *public*. This is the first basis of relationship. The purpose of each is to serve the public good. Thus the distinction between "public" and "private" schools is a misnomer that has caused a great deal of harmful confusion. "Public" schools are tax-supported, "neutral," and controlled by government; "private" schools are subject to the limitations of unfettered self-help and are usually religious in purpose and control. However fundamental these differences, the two systems touch one another at the point of their common public purpose—the one to produce good citizens of a democracy, the other, in the words of Pius XI, to prepare "man for what he must be and for what he must do here below, in order to attain the sublime end for which he was created."

The second basis of relationship is contained in the very idea of American democracy, the idea of freedom in education as in religion, speech, etc. Here are two systems, divergent at many a point, yet existing freely side by side according to the wishes of different groups in the community, related by a common public purpose and by mutual and helpful contact, criticism and cooperation. This is not only an admirable but a necessary exemplification of democracy in action. Contrary to it is the view of the authors of *The Public Schools and Spiritual Values* (Seventh Yearbook of the John Dewey Society):

We wish to point to the attendant and inherent threat to the democratic process if such non-public schools should become so numerous or so permanent as to constitute an institutionalized rival to the common public school. The divisive effect of such rival systems within the body politic we believe to be hurtful. . . .

That these sentiments run directly counter to genuinely democratic norms becomes clear from the unanimous declaration of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Oregon school case:

The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose, excludes any general power of the State to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the State. Those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right coupled with the high duty to recognize and prepare him for additional duties.

The surest safeguard of this democratic principle is the continued existence and example of different educational

systems, united in a public cause but not uniform, each enjoying fullest freedom, each growing in awareness of its correspondingly great public obligations. Doomed would be our boasted democracy should the day come when men prevail who hold that private and parochial schools are unnecessary because they merely duplicate the services rendered by public schools, and inadvisable because they are a divisive element in the democratic process.

Such views need not prevail among us, if the parochial and public schools are brought to cross friendly paths. A beginning was made in the war years when parochial and public schools joined together in successful drives, collections and sales to help the war effort. Now, as much as in war, cooperative enterprises are imperative. The field of community organization—for combating social evils, juvenile delinquency, interracial tensions and hates—gives full scope to further experiments and successes in intergroup teamwork. Indicative of what is being done, and of what waits to be done elsewhere, are the "Back of the Yards" council in Chicago and the Human Relations program being worked out in New York City.

Catholic schools need not compromise by an iota the integrity of their unique philosophy of education by establishing mutually helpful contact and cooperation with public schools everywhere or by joining in full measure in the many community organizations that are earnestly concerned for the betterment of the social order. The old saying that "taste is caught not taught" can convey the truth that just so must our philosophy of education and of life, our Catholic contribution to a genuine democratic way of life, be communicated by contact. It could be that in exchange we would profit by the things of good report in public education. At the least we would find how sincere, even when misguided, are its efforts to solve the problems that concern all of us.

Looking Ahead

Among the displaced persons in Europe are thousands of Russians who were former Soviet citizens, many of them people in high positions—teachers, Red Army officials, government employees—who would consider under no circumstances the idea of returning to the toils of slavery in the USSR. What thoughts are in their mind; what light can they shed upon the situation now existing in the Soviet Russia? A new field of information concerning that situation is explored in a coming issue by *Clement Vincent*.

Barbara Barclay Carter is an indefatigable news gatherer in the cause of Christian Democracy. Some of her observations on present conditions in Italy will be entitled "Italy Without Peace."

At the recent Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems in Hartford, Conn., so much interest was shown in *Joseph McMurray's* predictions concerning the immediate economic future of our country that we have asked Mr. McMurray to present them in article form.

Literature & Art

Common literary principles: II

Harold C. Gardiner

Let's worry a little more together over the question, broached last week, about the "oughtness" of art, in the Aristotelean sense, which I have claimed to be one of the common literary principles which bind Catholic writers and readers alike in a wide supra-national understanding, and one of the bases for the support of literature's job of nurturing charity. In discussing this principle a bit more, we shall find, I think, that it leads to another common ground which makes the world of Catholic letters one.

You will remember that we were brought to this point of the thinking-out process by having quoted an expansion of Aristotle's thought on the function of poetry (and all art), which stated: "We are shown [by art's imitation of nature] rather what men ought to be than what they actually are." From that I went on to make the claim that for Aristotle, and for all for whom his thought has been preserved and elevated in Christian philosophy, art is therefore a *moral* activity. Is that a mere statement, or can it be shown in the Greek philosopher's thought?

The arts treat, in his mind, "of the causes and consequences of actions and associations." These actions, which are the subject-matter of the artist's "imitation," are actions "with agents who are necessarily either good men or bad—the diversities of human character being nearly always derivative from this primary distinction, since the line between virtue and vice is the one dividing the whole of mankind."

Not merely the actions of men, therefore, are the subject-matter of literature; but the actions of men precisely under the aspect of whether they are morally good or bad. These actions, further, are "imitated"—that is, they are not merely reproduced in another medium (here of words), but so re-presented that the principles which are either being violated by the morally bad actions or illuminated by the morally good actions take shape and body behind the screen on which (as it were) the mere actions are projected.

Obviously, then, when we say that literature, in this concept, shows men not merely acting as they do, but rather as they "ought," we are not speaking of an "oughtness" of political or social or national expediency; we mean a moral "oughtness"; we mean that literature reenacts life with the inherent aim of criticizing life on a moral basis. If it be objected that this is to go way beyond the thought of Aristotle, and to analyze literature

What the Literary Editor holds to be a second literary principle common in the western world is that all literature is, in a very real sense, religious. This goes beyond the moral functions, discussed last week, and will lead to a third value, let's call it inspiration, which we shall discuss later.

from its *purpose*, whereas he bases his analysis on its *form*, I think the right answer is that the very form of literature openly implies a moral purpose.

But enough of the rather bookish lecture. That it has vital pertinence to today's reading, and that an understanding of it is capital for a comprehension of the role of Catholic letters in building the bridge of charity, is aptly illustrated by a quotation from a modern Catholic author to whom, I am afraid, I refer so often as to irk some readers. Actually, he is strategically about the best quotable writer on these points, for, with his background of sophisticated satire and aristocratic aloofness, he is least liable to a charge of "religiosity," and it must be remembered that this present discussion has nothing to do with an ecclesiastical point of view. This is not an *ex-cathedra* definition of what Rome thinks about modern literature; it is simply what a great thinker once thought, whose thought has been incorporated into the thinking of the whole civilized western world. It is only since the rise of the modern "realistic" school of fiction that that thought has been seriously challenged.

Well, as you expect, Waugh is the man I quote again. Writing in *Life* for April 8, in response to the question of an American admirer when we may expect another *Brideshead Revisited*, he has this to say:

Never. I can never hope to engage your attention again in quite the same way. I have already shaken off one of the American critics, Mr. Edmund Wilson, who once professed a generous interest in me. He was outraged (quite legitimately by his standards) at finding God introduced into my story. I believe that you can only leave God out by making your characters pure abstraction. Countless admirable writers, perhaps some of the best in the world, succeed in this. Henry James was the last of them. The failure of modern novelists since and including James Joyce is one of presumption and exorbitance. They are not content with the artificial figures which hitherto passed so gracefully for men and women. They try to represent the whole human mind and soul and yet omit its determining character—that of being God's creature with a defined purpose.

So in my future books there will be two things to make them unpopular: a preoccupation with style and the attempt to represent man more fully, which, to me, means only one thing, man in his relation to God.

Surely we have here a modern statement of the age-old concept in the western world of the function of litera-

ture. It is basically the concept of Aristotle of the moral function of all art, but it goes deeper, just as Aristotle's thought was brought to its perfection through incorporation into the Christian synthesis; the depth consists in this: instead of stopping with the moral teleology of letters, that morality is based where alone it can find stability, on religion.

And here we are, confronted clearly with a conclusion that seems at first blush simply untenable. For if the dim path of my labored reasoning has at last broken somewhat into sunlight, what we have to conclude is that all great literature is, therefore, a religious literature. Can this be?

I think there is no doubt whatever of the greatest works of literature. Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Racine—these are all religious writers, throwing the light of eternal truths on the scenes, the incidents they choose to illuminate. But what of the vast mass of the great but lesser works? Is *Huckleberry Finn* religious? Does the question cause a smile?

Well, perhaps it should, but there is a real sense in which such a classic is religious. Perhaps the best way I have at hand of expressing what I mean is to recall a remark that Hilaire Belloc made in one of his essays. All the worthwhile books he had ever read, he says in effect, can be summed up in a sentence—they all have as their theme "On An Unknown Country." Every book deals somehow with man's destiny, his yearnings, their frustrations, their partial fulfillments, in a word, the happiness, the beatitude, for which Christian ethics teaches us man was made, and which daily living reinforces with its experience.

To some that "unknown country" is quite unknown; its mere existence even comes to them as a vague and distant rumor, but clearly enough to start the divine unrest working. To others of us, who have indeed been given a clear and beautiful picture and promise of that far country, it is known well and lovingly, for its Lord has not only told us of its mansions and invited us there as His brothers, but he has left us a map with every winding and turning of the road fair set forth, so that we may hurry on to enter its boundaries.

But for all, the ultimate country that beckons us is to some degree unknown, and literature is the seeking to catch a clearer glimpse of its outlines. In this sense, and it is not too wide a one, even a *Huckleberry Finn* is religious. It is a boy's search, in a boy's terms, and in an American boy's terms, for happiness. That his conceptions of it are dim and funny and often foolish only adds to the poignancy of our realization that as Huck doubtless in real life would have grown out of his adolescent dreams of happiness, so we have almost daily to grow out of our incomplete concepts of it into an ever maturer realization of what happiness truly is.

This basic religious characteristic of literature can be stamped on a book in many ways. Until quite modern times, it was a matter of clear-cut definition. Great books all had their heroes and their villains; there was always struggle and conflict between good and evil, and though the phraseology sounds rather as though all great books

were like *East Lynn*, I do not mean that, it goes without saying, in any melodramatic sense. Moral issues were squarely posed and if a Becky Sharp is a memorable character, it is not merely because she was a vicious person, but because her evil is sketched against a background of characters and environment whose moral rightness silently criticizes her deformity.

But in recent times we have been getting and will continue to get more and more books in which there are no clear-cut villains and heroes; frequently all the characters are villains, as too often in Farrell's work, and the struggle is between a lot of evil men and society, which is evil, too, but in another way. And what they struggle for is no moral or religious principle, but simply for survival.

Now it is quite true that great books can be written, and have been, whose gallery of characters has been predominantly vicious or principle-less, and whose creation was undertaken by the author precisely to give, by horrible example, a picture of the sicknesses of society at a given time. This is the function, for example, of satire; it works, too, in another field, as we see in Hogarth's mordant criticism of eighteenth-century English society with its Bedlams and corruptions in high places.



But today's strange anomaly is the novel which assembles its amoral characters, and dissects and analyzes and psycho-analyzes them not for any purpose of bringing home moral principles they violate, not with any suggestion or hint of moral indignation at them and the culture that makes them possible, but simply because the author evidently thinks they are interesting case-histories in themselves. True, Catholics or anyone, for that matter, who still thinks in terms of western literary tradition, will realize, for example, that Lewis' *Cass Timberlane* is indeed a frightening commentary on modern un-Christian marriage, but the point is that Lewis himself in the book gives no hint that he was interested in moral problems in the least. Traditions may unconsciously impel us to try to judge such novels as obliquely achieving literature's moral function; the books themselves are a clean break with that very tradition.

But, again, that western tradition still exists and has influence. Catholic literature is homogeneous not only in still holding to the moral function of literature, it bases that morality on religion. It would be boring to repeat the roster again, but as you run through the Catholic literary names now prominent, mark how all of them who are writing truly fine books are writing books that deal in Waugh's words, with "man in his relation to God." Such books are fundamentally, if not explicitly, religious. Here we have a further force that makes Catholic literature an organic whole, a force which vitalizes the growth of supernatural charity through the pen.

These two principles, which are still the common literary heritage of the west, lead to another, the matter of literature's inspirational value. That may sound rather stuffy; it really isn't, as I hope to be able to show another week.

Books

Cornerstone of Democracy

SPOTLIGHT ON LABOR UNIONS

By William J. Smith, S.J. Duell, Sloane & Pearce, 150p. \$2.50

Joel Seidman's excellent little book, *Union Rights and Union Duties*, has been calling for a companion volume since it was first published three years ago. Scholarly and factual though it is, the ethical code which it recommends is merely legal and customary. Consequently, a number of Catholic reviewers have been waiting for someone to provide a handbook which would join in one volume the ethics and science of trade unionism. Father Smith's book is an effort to fill the bill.

Spotlight on Labor Unions is a breezy attempt to give the Catholic attitude on labor unions and a bit of the philosophy that underlies the Catholic approach. Equally, it strives to publicize the author's own opinions concerning the American labor movement as it exists today.

Father Smith does a grand job in demolishing many of the sacred cows held in reverence by the general public. Far from being the device of radicals, he maintains that trade unionism is a cornerstone of democracy. He further cracks the assumption that "hirelings of capital have a right in the nature of things to dictate and dominate the interests and demands of workers right down to the last details of doing things." He disputes the contention that the average American reader is in a position to be fair on labor matters and contends furthermore that he is "quite capital-conscious." He discounts the proposition that labor leaders are either crooks or radicals and considers them merely a bunch of Joes trying to do the best they can with what they have and what society has placed at their disposal.

In a surface analysis of the AFL and CIO, the author considers the AFL a stable labor organization but one on the way to stagnation. The "House of Labor" is properly scored for its refusal to assume responsibility for the actions of its local unions and lesser labor lights. It still has not overcome its past nor the idea that labor is the

underdog. Believing that labor is still fighting for its existence, the AFL demands complete support from its friends, despises honest critics, and will protect itself from attack even though it means making alliances with the racketeers in its midst.

The CIO, says Father Smith, is the most progressive labor organization in the world but possesses dangerous potentialities. The communist control of many of its unions make it dangerous. He accuses the top leadership of the CIO of collusion with these Communists, maintaining that compromise with the Commies occurs more often than the opposite. He scores the PAC not because it represents political action by labor but because of its method. In his whole treatment of the CIO this reviewer thinks Father Smith is on very debatable ground.

In commenting on strikes, the author maintains that wages, hours and working conditions must be related to prices, profits and rates of production. Management insists on keeping these

items apart and is willing to risk strikes rather than yield on the strategic position which it has usurped over the years. The closed shop and the closed union are adequately defended, but Father Smith skirts the more difficult job of determining the morality of the closed shop with the closed union.

The two cardinal ideas of a sound social order are the dignity of the human person and the concept of the common good. Profits cannot be the dominating motive. Doctors, lawyers, labor leaders who operate for money alone are quacks, shysters and racketeers. Why should the capitalist be considered a darling of the masses for placing his own interest above that of the people?

The book will be of interest to those who have not read Father Smith's opinions in *Crown Heights Comment*. Chapters of it could be better organized, and it has too many parentheses. The latter part, the really ethical considerations, would make a good pamphlet.

REV. GEORGE A. KELLY

Two fine achievements

THE SUDDEN GUEST

By Christopher LaFarge. Coward-McCann. 250p \$2.50

THE CRATER'S EDGE

By Stephen Bagnall. Morrow. 154p. \$2.

Both these novels are splendid illustrations of the principle discussed in this week's literary article, that all true literature has roots in religion. In addition, each of these books is a foil for the other, and if read in conjunction, will leave a truly deep impression. Let it be said at the outset that Mr. LaFarge's novel is the finer achievement, not because his theme is any more profound, but because its development is more spacious, surer, and done with a masterly poise and insight.

The Sudden Guest is a study of the progressive abandonment experienced by an ego-centric person. Carrel Leckton, living on the Atlantic coast, had gone through the hurricane of 1938 with every threat of wind and wave heralding intrusion on her privacy and security. Eight strangers, driven by the storm, had come unbidden to her door. Some were refused admission; others were grudgingly allowed to find shelter. All were, in her mind, inconsiderate intruders, never giving a thought to her comfort; that she should have

given a thought to theirs never entered her mind.

Now, in 1944, another hurricane is blowing up, and the earlier intrusion is re-enacted in reverse—now everyone leaves her; she faces the coming storm and its dangers alone. But not quite alone, because now she begins to relive the earlier catastrophe; its scenes and characters come back to confuse and disturb her. Little by little, the self-centeredness of her life, which merely came to a head in the first hurricane, closes in around her. She feels abandoned, not only physically, but spiritually. At the book's end, the storm passed, her very aloneness has forced her to speak a thought of consideration for another—the first of her life; perhaps her salvation is in the making, we feel, with the shell of self showing its first fissure.

This is a most inadequate summary. It does no justice to the strong probing of character, which is relentless but not cynical or clinical. It does no justice to the deep spiritual tone, which comes out beautifully in the episode of the little Italian girl who was carried into her home, naked and half-drowned, in the first storm, to find there, in her innocence and simple faith, a fellow haven-seeker who takes her to her heart (with a hint that this warm love turns to ultimate moral disaster).

Above all, a review cannot well do

justice to the three levels of the novel, which the author indicates in a sane and restrained summary. There is the physical level of the storm, which is superbly described; the moral level of the study in selfishness; finally, the allegorical level, in that the book is also a diagnosis of one great ill of modern times, "elephantiasis of the ego."

Here is a thoughtful story which is at the same time charged with interior tension and action; it is lovingly written and eloquent in its realization that one of the most Christ-like of virtues is consideration for others, charity.

Mr. Bagnall's little volume claims our praise, too, if not quite for all the excellencies of the LaFarge triumph. It is a study of a man's efforts to find love. A wounded soldier, lying on the edge of a shell-crater, casts back over his life and sees more and more clearly how his search for a soul really to love has been all along his life-long search for God.

Simon had been fated always to find love that did not last. One had been a darkly passionate affair; another had been all clean and pure and spiritual, but always he found no lasting peace in them. Now, dying, he looks back over his life and sees the pattern that had marked it. Even the foolish difficulties about political matters that had kept him from becoming a Catholic take on their proper countenance; even the pain he writhes under comes to be in his eyes "God's last argument — the great argument. Greater love. Hath no man . . ."

The LaFarge book is a study of an ego-centric person; Bagnall sets before us a soul who has always been going out to others, in an effort, it is true, to find its own peace and happiness, but nevertheless an effort that constantly implied and showed a passion for mutual consideration. Simon is a character whose bent it was to give to life; Miss Leckton craved only to get; she was abandoned by human beings because she had no love to give them; he gave his love and, though he could not keep the reciprocal love of human friends, he finds God's love in the end.

This desire of Simon to love takes on larger implications in the small book than mere personal love for an individual. As he lies dying, the whole Christian ethic of love for enemies (here Hitler and the Germans) rises before it. In the face of it all, he can do no more than begin to pray as his life ebbs away.



This is a tremendous theme for so small a book; perhaps that is the reason why, though quite gem-like, the novel gives the impression of being too miniature to be complete. The characters do not come out quite clearly, and the dream-like atmosphere carries almost the impression of a dumb-show. However, within its limits, *The Crater's Edge* is a provocative bit of writing. Above all, it augurs well for the future works of its young English author.

Both these books will be welcomed by readers who are tired of toughness, the probing of abnormal mental states, pinchbeck fictional history and pseudo-philosophy. Both fulfill admirably the role, that is literature's most glorious — the deepening of the bases for charity.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

Solving the Russian Enigma

THE GREAT CHALLENGE

By Louis Fischer. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. 337p. \$4

The blurb on the dust jacket modestly proclaims that this book "will leave its mark on history." To this boast the reviewer takes strong exception. Instead of an outstanding book, what we have here is just another in the long series of journalistic accounts now streaming from the press, containing the wartime experiences and observations of the authors on politics and other events of world importance. From Louis Fischer we had every right to expect something worthwhile. His long experience as a writer and lecturer ought to have produced a better product than this rambling, poorly paced piece of work. It is good in spots, but its lack of evenness is a distinct weakness.

In somewhat tiresome fashion, he has related at great length "the politics of the war and the peace." The greater part of it contains nothing new to the average, well-informed American reader. The style in which the book is written likewise leaves something to be desired. It is entirely too staccato. Time and again, a single sentence constitutes a paragraph. The use of the first person is another extremely irritating feature. Finally, there is the equally obnoxious display of a claim to clairvoyance on the author's part.

Mr. Fischer, as is perhaps well

known, remains convinced that democracy received a setback in Spain when Franco's forces triumphed over those of the communistic opposition. Salazar fares equally poorly. For instance, we find that "the clerical-fascist government of Dictator Salazar was pro-British because it knew England had no sinister designs on Portugal. But it . . . played with England and Germany and made money by selling to both." Quoting an article he wrote many years ago, he describes Stalin as "unsentimental, steel-willed, Jesuitical, [sic!] allowing no object to bar his way to a given end, wholly unscrupulous."

Since the book's flaws have been pointed out at some length, fairness demands that its good points be mentioned. There is much that will appeal in his three chapters on India, although Mr. Fischer has already extracted a good deal out of this visit and put it into his pleasing earlier volume, *A Week with Gandhi*. His chapter on the Palestinian problem puts its finger unerringly on a real weak spot in this whole situation. It is that Zionism is a nationalist movement. One of the things the world needs today is less nationalism, as Fischer brings out forcefully throughout his pages.

Very timely is the chapter entitled "What Are Russia's Motives?" To the author, they are threefold. First, there is the combination of Russian nationalism, Ukrainian nationalism and Slavism. Second, there is the desire upon the part of Russia to reduce the amount of time and the cost to the Russian people involved in reconstruction. Finally, there is "opportunity."

The explanation given for the first motive, the revival of nationalism and "Slavism" is that "nationalist passion diverts attention from the non-gratification of material needs." It was brought forward to replace a motive that had lagged sadly—revolutionary desire.

The Russian road back is shortened by "dovetailing the economy of central and eastern Europe and of Manchuria with the economy of Russia so that their industrial, raw material and human resources serve Russian needs." This appears to be a convincing enough explanation of Russia's endeavors to control the lives of the one hundred and fifty millions estimated to be living in its sphere of influence.

"Opportunity" is likewise lucidly explained. Briefly, it can be said that Russia has succumbed to the temptation to extend her influence and prestige due to the fact that only two

Powers in the world were left capable of checking her. One of them, moreover, needed the help of the other. The latter, which unilaterally could oppose Russia, was tied down by its own accumulated problems.

Mr. Fischer is another in the long and growing list of the opponents of the secret diplomacy which plagued the course of the recent war and has left its imprint on the war's aftermath so vividly. Speaking of Teheran, he says that Roosevelt and Churchill gave eastern Poland to Russia "without consulting the population" (of Poland). This action, which he rightly calls "aggrandizement" came after Russia had signed the Atlantic Charter! Moreover, it formulated "the vicious, pernicious principle that principles do not count when the Big Three get together."

After listing the booty pledged Russia at Yalta, Mr. Fischer observes that these secret agreements constituted the type of peace the Big Three handed down. First, they granted annexations, then they got around to talking principles, but always gave their approval to spheres of influence. "Then, on that shaky foundation, they started to establish a most imperfect union, the United Nations." To make matters worse, says the author, the failure of the delegates at Dumbarton Oaks to decide what to do about the perplexing question of the veto was referred to the Big Three at Yalta. There, both the President and the Russian Generalissimo insisted upon it and the British gave their approval.

In conclusion, it might be noted that Fischer feels that the only sure path to peace is a strong world government. To the problem posed by Russia's obvious dislike of such a solution, he feels that it would be advisable to set up a "four-fifths-world government and keep the door always open for Russia." This would solve the Russian enigma eventually, he holds, whereas the other two alternatives, viz. fight Russia or appease her, would not. But establishment of the better world which would result from such a proposed plan can be done only through

the more active participation of the inhabitants of the world in the political affairs of their nations not only by voting whenever the opportunity is present but also by choosing candidates. That must not be left to party hacks and professional ward-healers.

The average citizen, for his own sake, must do more as a political unit.

THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY

JANEY JEEMS

By Bernice Kelly Harris. Doubleday. 306p. \$2.50

When the idealizing of hardship and poverty went out of fashion it was replaced by the equally unrealistic notion that squalor, shiftlessness, immorality and unhappiness are the inevitable lot of the very poor. The South in particular has been interpreted by so many writers of the school of psychopathic misery that it is refreshing to discover normalcy and truly human qualities in this story of a family struggling for existence on a small farm in the hills of North Carolina. The hardships, uncertainties, and sorrows of Janey and Jeems are shared by the reader, together with the dark shadows of evil that hover about them, but shared also are the homely courage, the faith, humor and love of a wholesome family.

Janey married Jeems when she was fifteen and for the rest of their long life together, in the rearing of their large family, in their struggle to possess and retain the land that was to pass "from heir to heir," in their efforts to build a church with a white steeple, Janey is forever trying to measure up to the stern moral and spiritual standards of her deeply religious husband. Jeems' faith is strong, his God is a God of wrath and vengeance, he instructs Janey in the Word and, in the absence of a preacher, he takes upon himself the assembling of the little congregation calling itself "Fidelity."

Janey's following in the path marked out by Jeems is beset with problems and complications that vex her simple soul, and her cry, "Lord, did you ever raise a family?" strikes at the depth of human understanding. And even after Jeems has died she catches herself in her pride—pride in her children and grandchildren, pride in the rustling of her black silk dress—and she slips out into the field and down on her knees, reminding herself that she must be "heaven humble" like Jeems.

This is not a sociological document and Janey and Jeems are not case studies. They are two God-fearing human beings, grappling with adverse conditions, faltering occasionally but never conceding defeat. Characters and story are true to life in that life is made up of shifting patterns, changing proportions of joy and sorrow, good and evil, achievement and disappointment, the vision of an ideal and the



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CORRECTION

The Index of Volume LXXV of AMERICA, which will be ready about October 15, will be sent free to subscribers only upon request. If you wish a copy, please write AMERICA in the immediate future.

stumbling and climbing toward its attainment.

A "surprising revelation" is promised the reader on the book's dust-jacket. Since the revelation amounts to no more than a hunch to this reviewer, since it has been missed entirely by other readers, and since it would not be fair to give it away in any case, suffice it to say that if the hunch is correct the human values of the story are enhanced. With or without the surprise element, however, it is good to know about people like Janey and Jeems—and their story is well told.

MARY STACK MCNIFF

HOMELAND

By Georges Surdez. Doubleday. 471p. \$2.75

The Swiss family portrayed in this novel, and sometimes etched in acid, is in exile in France for the odd political reason that the watchmaker father is an absentee patriot; he loves the homeland violently, vocally and at a distance. But this is more particularly the story of a richly varied boyhood, crowded with the great adventures of getting lost, falling in love with a

horse, finding heroes among poachers and Foreign Legionnaires, winning praises and bruises—in short, the whole anecdotal pattern of small-boyism re-collected in maturity.

The bourgeois background is overlaid with a sophistication which no adult can escape in looking backward, and colors are heightened here and there at the sacrifice of fidelity to the child's point of view. Thus little Arthur becomes an improbably acute observer of life, pleasant and unpleasant, as Papa Gardoz leads his family a gypsy chase from one French border town to another. Moving day is almost a part of the calendar and is preceded by the father's vanishing act when the lure of new scenery or his local philandering catches up with him. He has a genius for locating hovels matched only by his wife's ability to transform them into homes. Family life is irregular and unpredictable, but in the midst of domestic tempests, Arthur shapes his own world of small, everyday wonders. He becomes an expert on paper soldiers and military history, is educated between schoolboy fights and games, absorbs town tragedies and gossip, discovers nature, and even comes to understand his own family.

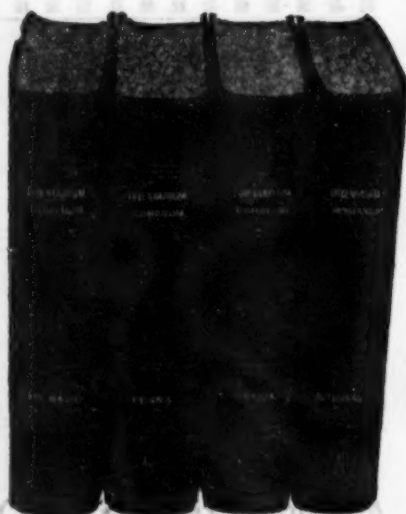
His mother is a proud Jurassian farm woman who loves both stability and her unstable husband, and makes the kitchen her kingdom. Younger brother Gabriel is a tornado of petty destruction. Arthur's older sisters justify Pope's definition of a family as a commonwealth of malignants. There is little plot, with the spotlight always on Arthur. Incidents are often detailed with fresh and vigorous charm.

But the author is not selective in re-creating this boyhood spent close to the earth and inevitably rubbed a few times in the dirt. He dredges up ribald episodes, too, and toward the close of the book loses some of his customary reticence. At any rate, Mr. Surdez seems to think it appropriate to Arthur's maturer years to express an elaborately Continental view of loose morals and, after ignoring the obviously Catholic background of his story through hundreds of pages, feels called upon to remark that "Piety seemed to have nothing to do with fidelity in marriage."

The temptation to make this work a sensational best-seller is resisted so well up to a point that it becomes a disappointing duty to underline its lapses. THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

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ACRES OF ANTAEUS

By Paul Corey. Holt. 388p. \$2.75.

The material of this story is as old as the human race, but in the hands of Paul Corey it takes on an aura of novelty and interest. Along with many other ills, it grew out of the depression, at a time when the small farmers were failing to meet their mortgages and were losing not only their land and live-stock holdings, but also their self-esteem.

Into this dour picture step two romantic youths, Jim Buckley and Emily Fletcher. As Mr. and Mrs. Buckley they look eagerly to the future with outstretched hands and singing hearts. Jim, with two years of agricultural courses to his credit, is engaged by the Midwest Farms, Inc. as manager of production. In this capacity he superintended the raising and harvesting of crops on the farms which had been wrested from their owners by foreclosures.

It seemed to promise Jim Buckley the beginning of a rosy future. To his young school-teacher wife it was the giant boot that stamped their romance into the ground and left it there a raw quivering thing that would not heal; for in her loyalty to her family whose heavily mortgaged farm was in danger of being gobbled up as many others had been by this midwest ogre, Emily found it difficult to reconcile the role played by her husband as an agent of Midwest Farms, Inc. With every boundary fence destroyed in the merging of farms she felt a large wedge driven between them, and she knew the gap would widen, as it did. She saw proud farmers, whose lives had been spent on their acres, made paupers overnight; she saw them and their families dispossessed, and she saw the moment when her own family acres would pass into these ruthless hands.

Meanwhile, Jim Buckley, full of enthusiasm for the work that was his, kept aloof from the machinations of Midwest, trying to steer a neutral course and keep his marriage intact.

There are many human conflicts in this story as it builds in headlong rush to a great climax, sustaining the interest which it created in its opening pages. Paul Corey is a master in the creation of character and exciting situations, in which these characters move in swift strides, impelled by those basic emotions which make his story human and dramatic.

JOSEPH R. N. MAXWELL

The Word

TIN-PAN ALLEY, HEAVEN KNOWS, supplies few texts for meditation; but its catchy tuneful exhortation to accentuate the positive sets to music a principle which, in the spiritual life, is vitally important. We need to remind ourselves frequently that our Holy Faith is not, as Mr. Mumford implies, a canonization of "the negative aspects of existence," but a militantly positive ideal of internal and external action. The Gospel for the seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost recalls this to us once again with its proclamation of the "great commandment."

In the twilight of His public life, Christ's enemies attacked Him with increasing frequency, trying desperately to discredit Him, to woo the throngs away from Him. Traditionally inimical, the Sadducees and Pharisees entered into unholy alliance against Him; and when He routed the Sadducees, the Pharisees moved to the assault.

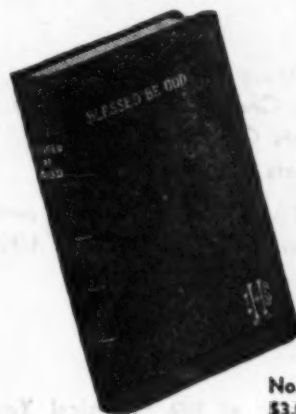
Thus, in this Gospel, we see them "putting Him to the test" with the leading question from "a doctor of the law." Legal scholars had ramified the Law into some six hundred precepts, negative and positive and the arranging of these injunctions in order of precedence and preeminence was a hotly controversial point. Hence the inquiry of the doctor about the "great commandment of the Law."

Our Lord declared the primacy of the precept which enjoins love of God. This, strictly speaking, was sufficient to dispose of the difficulty, but He went on. "And the second is like it," He added. "'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' On these two commandments depend the whole Law and the Prophets."

By this gratuitous addition, therefore, Christ insisted that love of God and love of the neighbor are obverse and converse sides of the same legislation, a truth which John, the Apostle of love, was later to vindicate so vigorously. "If anyone says 'I love God,' and hates his brother, he is a liar" (1 John 4:20). Obviously there is nothing negative, neutral or drab about that central commandment; it is pointedly positive and compelling.

One of our troubles in understanding and observing it arises from a misapprehension of the meaning of "love" in the context. We confuse love with sentiments, "feelings" or discernible emo-

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tional reactions; and conclude that where there is no emotional overflow there can be no love.

But love of God is an act of the will assisted by grace not necessarily accompanied by "feeling." In fact it is spiritually safer to have it so, since many have found, to their sorrow, that a "devotion" of the sense can be erased by tempests of temptation which would have left a firm act of the will unshaken. Father Boylan, the Irish Cistercian, in his admirable book, *Difficulties in Mental Prayer*, sums the matter up with pithy precision: "As long as we will to love God, by that very fact, with the help of grace, we do love Him."

Similarly the Christian is not required to be a gushing Pollyanna affectionately drawn towards everyone. But he is held to see in each person a soul redeemed at the price of Christ's precious blood (1 Pet. 1:19) and to act accordingly. He must behold the Christ hidden in each man, even though gleaming dimly as through a muddy monstrosity; and to reflect that Christ will someday say "as long as you did it for one of these, the least of my brethren, you did it for me" (Matt. 25:40).

This is the love which Christ prescribes, this the love which is "the fulfilling of the law" (Rom. 13:10), which marks us as Christ's disciples. Not even an enemy lies outside the pale of this charity: "Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you," Christ tells us (Luke 6:27). This is the law which once changed the face of the earth as it could even now renew it, if men would listen and obey.

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY, S.J.

Theatre

LIFE'S LOOKING GLASS. The theory that drama is a mirror of life has seldom been more clearly demonstrated than it was by the first two openings of the season. *A Flag Is Born* and *The Front Page*, a revival, were written eighteen years apart, in reverse order. The two plays are so different in spirit that one might easily believe they are products of different centuries and expressions of different types of national character.

It is not that *A Flag Is Born* is frankly a propaganda play while *The Front Page* was originally written and remains a theatre piece fashioned for

entertainment. The difference is that the latter play is no longer as entertaining as it was in the 'twenties. Its humor, which was spontaneous in 1928, seems forced and artificial in 1946. In the original production the characters were accepted as authentic Americans. In the revival they resemble automata. Instead of being on the way to becoming an American classic, like *Show Boat*, *The Front Page* has become a theatrical curio.

Nevertheless *The Front Page* is sound drama. It captured and preserved the mood of a period. Its revival is a daguerreotype of our national adolescence, as embarrassing as a photograph of a hobbledehoy shown to a man of fifty reluctant to admit it is a picture of himself. But drama and the camera seldom lie. *The Front Page* is a faithful image of our decade's folly.

In those years we were an irresponsible people, as individuals and as a nation. We had recently emerged victorious from our first major foreign war and stampeded out of Europe, refusing to have any part in shaping the peace. Our most serious domestic problem was where to find a dependable bootlegger. Wall Street was bullish, our national income reached the unprecedented peak of \$80 billion, the mayor of our greatest city was urbane and witty and the White House was tenanted by a strong, silent man—well, anyway, he was silent.

If there were frequent gang wars, culminating in the St. Valentine's Day massacre, we shrugged them off with a wisecrack. "Let the crooks kill each other off. It saves the police department a headache and the state the expense of a trial." Besides, the gang wars added new words to our vocabulary, or gave new meanings to familiar words, and made exciting reading in the newspapers. We were frivolous and callous, and thought we were cynical when we were just dumb. *The Front Page* caught the spirit of the decade and preserved it for posterity.

Fifteen years of depression and war have changed us from an insouciant to a sober people, and our altered mood is reflected by the stage. The trend is apparent not only in propaganda plays, like *A Flag Is Born* and *Deep Are the Roots*, but no less evident in such polished products as *State of the Union* and *Born Yesterday*. If *The Front Page* were an original production instead of a revival, the chances are it would be a flop instead of a hit. The suggestion that a man could be hanged to win an

election, Communist or not, isn't funny any more.

Not that we have lost our sense of humor. We can still be amused, but when we laugh it is the restrained laughter of maturity, not the giggling of irresponsible adolescence. We are a grown-up nation now, feeling rather strange in our long pants, but doing our best to assume the responsibilities and perform the duties of an adult nation. Destiny, it seems, has appointed us receiver for civilization, and we are uncertain how to handle the job. We are harassed by strikes, uncertain of the best way to deal with Russia and fearful of inflation. Life has become more complicated since those far-off years.

We have become a worried people and our playwrights have been infected by our mood. The distinguishing mark of contemporary drama is a groping earnestness. *The Front Page* is a "still" of our national psyche in the 'twenties. *A Flag Is Born* reflects our turn toward serious thinking in the 'forties. Our grandchildren, comparing the two dramatic portraits, will probably think we were a rather silly people in both decades.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Films

TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST. Richard Henry Dana's personal story of seafaring before the maritime-law reforms carries its age well in this muscular production. The thesis is proved and past, and such terms as shanghai and scurvy have lost the bitter connotations of Dana's youth, but a rousing sea yarn is always imperishable melodrama. The film recalls the maritime code of a century ago, when brutal captains thought more of speed than safety, and more of their cargoes than of their consciences. A seaman forced into service is flogged for his rebellion but individual opposition swells into open mutiny as the crew feels the effects of starvation rations and ship-board tyranny. Dana makes the long-suffering sailor articulate and paves the way for changes in the system. John Farrow's direction strikes a key of thoughtful realism, and the atmosphere has an authentic saltiness. Alan Ladd, Brian Donlevy, William Bendix and Barry Fitzgerald are noteworthy in the cast. The adaptation of the original is flexible but satisfactory on major

counts. The family will enjoy this adventure in the margin of history. (Paramount)

ANGEL ON MY SHOULDER. The trade tag for this sort of film is fantasy, since angels and devils are lumped with ghosts and pixies in the movie lexicon. Intelligent audiences will have to accept the label, too, because the picture's approach to theology is sentimentally naive, not to say muddled. However, it makes a moral point through its melodramatic plot, which is to its credit. The Devil grants a gangster permission to possess the body of

an honest judge for purposes of revenge. He falls in love with the judge's fiancée and, under that mellowing influence, returns whence he came on condition that the Devil will leave the judge in peace. Archie Mayo's treatment is impressive, within limits, in underscoring the wages of sin, but the infernal implications are just too much for Hollywood to handle. Paul Muni has an actor's holiday in the chief role, with effective support from Claude Rains. The film is well-turned mechanically, so that adult reactions will depend on personal tolerance of a rationalized morality play. (United Artists)

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FORTY MINUTES FROM NEW YORK

HER SISTER'S SECRET. The formula used in this tearful film is so weak that only the strongest production values could raise it to the level of honest sentimentality. Unfortunately the budget is as limited as the scenarist's imagination, and the result is one of those libels on distaff audiences known as a "woman's picture." Carnival time and moonlight conspire against a wartime romance and the inevitable result is handed over to an older sister for care. Mother love asserts itself and, after some calculated misery, marriage and happiness loom ahead. Edgar Ulmer plays an obligato on the heart-strings, with Nancy Coleman, Margaret Lindsay and Philip Reed falling victim to the plot. A satisfactory moral balance is maintained but *adult* audiences will hardly be overwhelmed by small favors. (PRC)

BACHELOR'S DAUGHTERS. Despite its title, this is an inoffensive comedy about four salesgirls who adopt an elderly floor-walker to further their marital campaigns. The working girls are anxious to enlarge their social field so as to include eligible young men of means, and a temporary mansion, presided over by an impressive father, is part of the scheme. But the comedy of match-making strikes a note of poignancy at the end. Andrew Stone's direction is strongest in the humor department. Gail Russell, Claire Trevor, Ann Dvorak, Jane Wyatt and Adolph Menjou are featured in a good *adult* diversion. (United Artists)

THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

ART

CHRISTMAS CARDS SEEM A HAPPY thing to think about, these days of summer's end. I must confess, however, that they occurred to me as a subject for this column only because Father Catich once gave me a copy of the *Catholic Art Quarterly* that contained not only a great many designs for such cards, but also rather interesting information about selling them. In addition to the cards of Father Catich, which were reproduced and which are distinguished by his talent for design and genuinely beautiful lettering. Adé de Bethune, William Cladek, Sister Mary of the Compassion, Lauren Ford, William and Dorothy Gauchet and Mary Catherine Finegan are also represented

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by designs of varying interest. While examples of his work are not included in this issue, the pioneer work in the field of symbolic design and typography of the Benedictine, Father Joachim of St. John's Abbey, must come to mind as still another effort in the general direction taken by these artists.

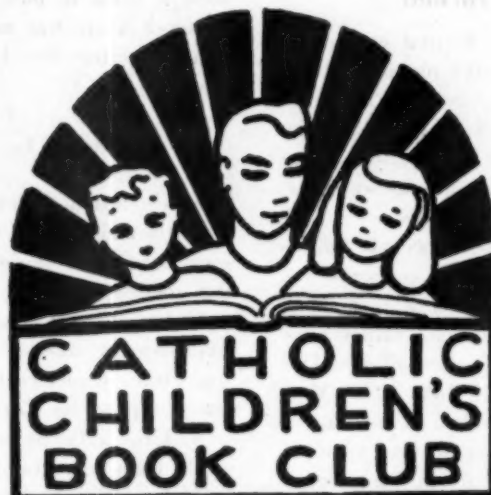
In the main, at least in those parts of the designs which carry physical representation of Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph and other personages, there is a definite response to primitivism, or archaism, which is manifesting itself generally in Catholic-type art. When this is supplemented by a sufficiently vigorous design sense, the result occasionally reaches a high level. In some other instances, there is a suggestion of mannered treatment, which lacks the necessary subjectivism.

The comments of the artists whose work is reproduced should be informing to any one who is moved to work in this field, or in the allied one of holy cards, the reform and improvement of which has long been the concern of the painter, Hildreth Meiere. As an instance, Adé de Bethune points out her experience in marketing her cards to show that, "generally the customers choose the best designs" and "this would seem to prove that as soon as we get away from ubiquitous commercialism, and do not pander to what is supposed to be the public's weakness and folly, we may trust implicitly to the good judgment of the people." Father Catich strikes a more immediately practical note in his comment, for he recalls that, as an art student, "three years' tuition was paid for out of my Christmas-card revenue." As a complement to this, William and Dorothy Gauchet add some information that must have a strong appeal to artists married to one another, for they write that "this year's sale of cards paid all the expenses of our new daughter . . . And that's a really good reason why we go on making Christmas cards."

All of this should prove distinctly encouraging to Catholic artists who see in Christmas cards and holy cards a means for artistic expression and a way of fitting art to an existing purpose, inadequately fulfilled as it is in the commercially produced cards. And this effort made by artists has more significance than appears at first sight, for it is part of that revolt against commercially produced religious-purpose art, which, I am happy to state, is growing stronger every day in Catholic circles.

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Correspondence

America's new format

EDITOR: The long desired change in the format of AMERICA pleases me and will, I hope, be approved by the readers. It is well, I believe, to discard the old that has served its purpose, and to present the new that has its own purpose and its own timeliness.

Back in 1936, when I became Editor-in-Chief, one of my first concerns was that of introducing a new format; it was a modernistic design, rather revolutionary in Catholic periodicals. This was effected through John J. A. Murphy, a superb woodcut artist and a specialist in black-and-white typography. The reader reaction was contradictory; some altogether in favor, some much opposed. During the past ten years, that format was necessarily changed; and during the war years, passed away like all luxuries, due to paper shortages and saving of white space.

It was time you introduced a new format, and I hope paper shortages will not obstruct you and war years will not burden you.

Your new design runs along the same ideas I had before I left AMERICA. For the cover, I had visioned the reverse plate; but I would have preferred a less heavy black effect. I like the use of the reverse plate for the department headings; but here again, I think the contrast is almost too violent with heavy black rather than a toned black; then, I think streamers should extend the full page width or the column width. The titles are artistically designed, and attractive, and effective. The text-type is readable, but my tastes run to the more modern fonts. I am delighted that you have adopted the three-column page in the book-reviews and the following features. The narrower column makes for easier reading. To be brief, the new format has unity and flexibility and beauty.

May it wear well for another ten years when, I hope, the editor will decide to re-design it in the then modern tempo. My congratulations.

FRANCIS X. TALBOT, S.J.

Congratulations on your new magazine! I think it's a grand improvement—much more attractive than it was. I

hope it helps to pull in a lot of new readers! There was much good, sharp writing in the first issue in the new type, too.

CHARLES LUCEY

Washington, D. C.

The new format is admirable, and apparently makes room for more articles, more comment, more reviews—all to the good.

The book review section is a great improvement, and so is the Washington Front, Underscorings page. I like the last page for Correspondence, too.

And the articles are extra fine this week. I am very grateful for "Leo XIII and Anglican Orders." And I wish Father Masse's article, with a more down-to-earth title, might reach all the businessmen who need it so much. (What does "Ferverino" mean?)

Regardless of its dress, what we get in AMERICA is all out of proportion to what it costs.

Buffalo, N. Y.

RUTH H. ENO

I have just finished running through the latest issue of AMERICA which reached me this morning. Being a publisher of parts, I wanted to say that I am quite taken by the change in display in this latest issue. I feel that it presents, in general, a much bolder appearance, which I believe is good. The added body given to the layout can't help but redundantly carry the impression that what the magazine carries, among other things, is authority.

The only drawback, as I see it, is the effect of the columns—The Word, Theatre, Films, and Parade—being lost in the midst of the advertisements. I find them much more difficult to read than say, the correspondence page.

WILLIAM F. MASTERTON, S.J.

New York, N. Y.

School Lunches

EDITOR: "Lunches for School Children" (AMERICA, September 7, 1946) leaves me with the impression that a paternalistic Federal Government is handing out an eighty-five million dollar "largess" to States which want to save money by "picking up their share" of

the federal funds. Catholic schools, like good children, are advised "to put out their hands" for a share of the money.

To correct this misleading impression, I quote from the Committee Report on the School Lunch Act.

"... the bill will effectively advance two desirable objectives: the improvement of the health and well-being of the Nation's youth, and the assurance ... of a substantial market for agricultural production."

"... the Federal Government has always had an active interest in providing markets for agricultural production. ... Any measure that will expand the domestic consumption of agricultural production ... and assure a larger share of the national income to farmers, should receive support."

"... the Federal Government is committed to a policy of supporting prices of many agricultural commodities at 90 per cent of parity for a period of two years after the end of the present conflict. ... It is our belief that community school lunch programs have a very definite part in any post-war plans for helping to balance food production and consumption."

I should think that Catholic school administrators would be wary of participation in a highly centralized federal "child-feeding program," but, as social-minded individuals, aware of the government's obligation to promote general economic welfare by all suitable means, they will probably go out of their way to cooperate with the government in the successful operation of the School Lunch Act.

Incidentally, in matching the federal grants, the State governments are not required to use State tax funds. The matching requirement pertains to funds within the State, such as the contribution of the children for the food served, the cash value of donated services, etc. Only two or three States make any appropriation for the school lunch program.

REV. WILLIAM E. McMANUS

Washington, D. C.

(Our Comment of September 7, 1946, explicitly adverted to the point stressed by Father McManus, and we indicated the danger which he points out—that the disposal of surplus agricultural products might loom larger in government eyes than a balanced diet for children. Nevertheless we felt that our Catholic schools should participate. We print Father McManus' letter for the further light it throws on the matter. EDITOR)

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